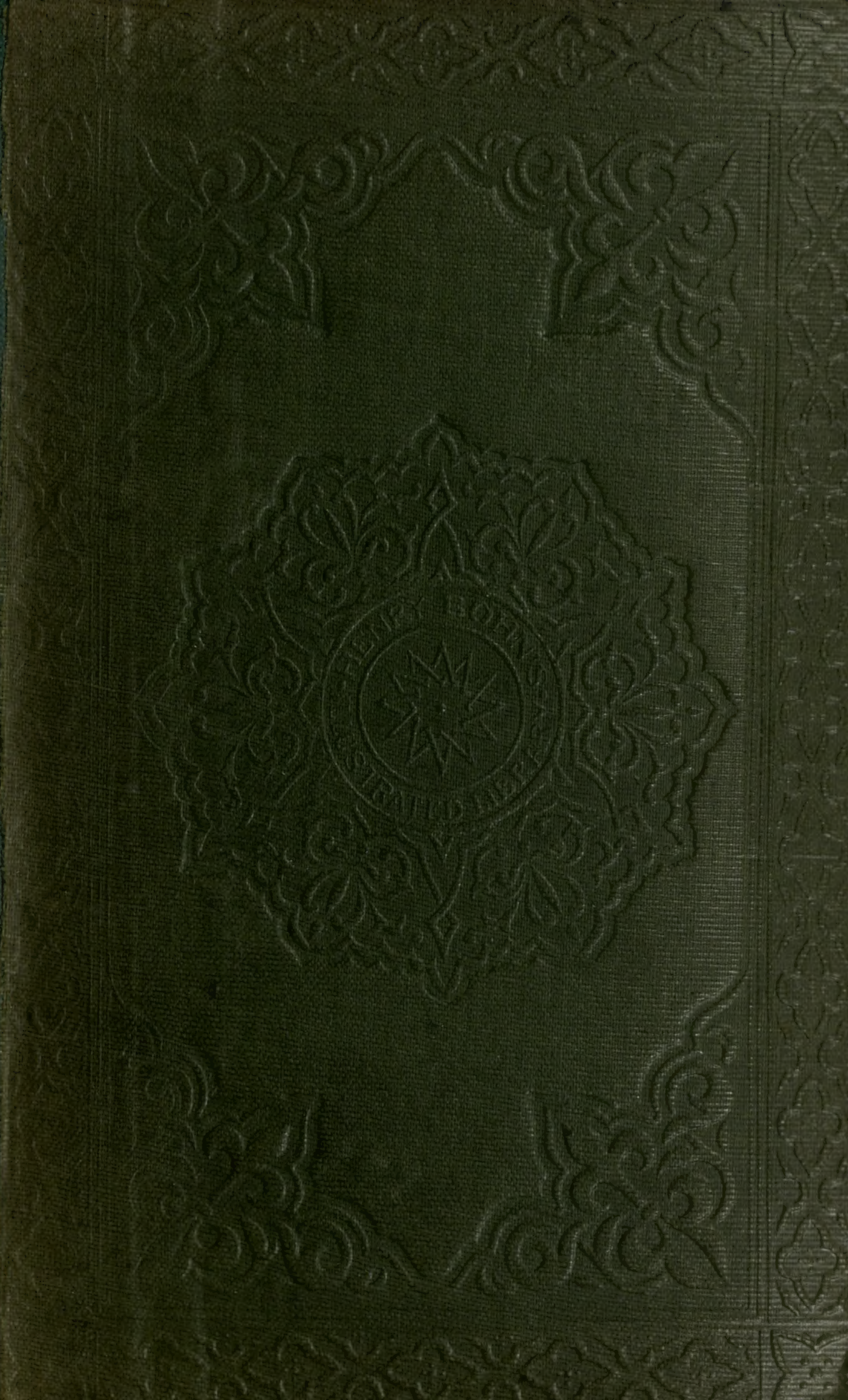

HENRY BOHN'S
ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/chinapictorialde00londuoft

Goethe's Works, Translated into English. In 5 vols.

Vols. 1. and 2. Autobiography, 13 Books; and Travels in Italy, France, and Switzerland. *Portrait.*

Vol. 3. Faust, Iphigenia, Torquato Tasso, Egmont, &c., by Miss SWANWICK; and Götz von Berlichingen, by Sir WALTER SCOTT. *Frontispiece.*

Vol. 4. Novels and Tales.

Vol. 5. Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship.

Gregory's (Dr.) Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion.

Guizot's Representative Government. Translated by A. R. SCOBLE.

——— **History of the English Revolution of 1640.** Translated by WILLIAM HAZLITT. *Portrait.*

——— **History of Civilization.** Translated by WILLIAM HAZLITT. In 3 vols. *Portrait.*

Hazlitt's Table Talk. A New Edition in one volume.

——— **Lectures on the Comic** Writers, and on the English Poets.

——— **Lectures on the Literature** of the Age of Elizabeth, and on Characters of Shakespear's Plays.

——— **Plain Speaker.** 5*s.*

——— **Round Table;** the Conversations of JAMES NORTHCOTE, R.A; Characteristics, &c. 5*s.*

Hall's (Rev. Robert) Miscellaneous Works and Remains, with Memoir by Dr. GREGORY, and an Essay on his Character by JOHN FOSTER. *Portrait.*

Heine's Poems, complete, from the German, by E. A. BOWRING. 5*s.*

Hungary: its History and Revolutions; with a Memoir of Kossuth from new and authentic sources. *Portrait.*

Hutchinson (Colonel), Memoirs of, with the Siege of Latham House.

James's (G. P. R.) Richard Cœur-de-Lion, King of England. *Portraits.* 2 vols.

——— **Louis XIV.** *Portraits.* 2 vols.

Junius's Letters, with Notes, Additions, and an Index. In 2 vols.

Lamartine's History of the Girondists. *Portraits.* In 3 vols.

——— **Restoration of the Monarchy,** with Index. *Portraits.* In 4 vols.

——— **French Revolution of 1848,** with a fine *Frontispiece.*

Lamb's (Charles) Elia and Eliana. Complete Edition.

Lanzi's History of Painting. Translated by ROSCOE. *Portraits.* In 3 vols.

Locke's Philosophical Works, containing an Essay on the Human Understanding, &c., with Notes and Index by J. A. ST. JOHN. *Portrait.* In 2 vols.

——— **Life and Letters, with Extracts** from his Common-Place Books, by Lord KING.

Luther's Table Talk. Translated by WILLIAM HAZLITT. *Portrait.*

Machiavelli's History of Florence, The Prince, and other Works. *Portrait.*

Menzel's History of Germany. *Portraits.* In 3 vols.

Michelet's Life of Luther. Translated by WILLIAM HAZLITT.

——— **Roman Republic.** Translated by WILLIAM HAZLITT.

——— **French Revolution,** with Index. *Frontispiece.*

Mignet's French Revolution from 1789 to 1814. *Portrait.*

Milton's Prose Works, with Index. *Portraits.* In 5 vols.

Mitford's (Miss) Our Village. Improved Ed., complete. *Illustrated.* 2 vols.

Neander's Church History. Translated: with General Index. In 10 vols.

——— **Life of Christ.** Translated.

——— **First Planting of Christianity,** and Antignostikus. Translated. In 2 vols.

——— **History of Christian Dogmas.** Translated. In 2 vols.

——— **Christian Life in the Early** and Middle Ages, including his 'Light in Dark Places.' Translated.

Ockley's History of the Saracens. Revised and completed. *Portrait.*

Pearson on the Creed. New Edition. With Analysis and Notes. Double Vol. 5*s.*

Ranke's History of the Popes. Translated by E. FOSTER. In 3 vols.

——— **Servia and the Servian Revolution.**

Reynolds' (Sir Joshua) Literary Works. *Portrait.* In 2 vols.

Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo X., with the Copyright Notes, and an Index. *Portraits.* In 2 vols.

——— **Life of Lorenzo de Medici,** with the Copyright Notes, &c. *Portrait.*

Russia, History of, by WALTER K. KELLY. *Portraits.* In 2 vols.

Schiller's Works. Translated into English. In 4 vols.

Vol. 1. Thirty Years' War, and Revolt of the Netherlands.

Vol. 2. *Continuation of* the Revolt of the Netherlands; Wallenstein's Camp; the Piccolomini; the Death of Wallenstein; and William Tell.

Vol. 3. Don Carlos, Mary Stuart, Maid of Orleans, and Bride of Messina.

Vol. 4. The Robbers, Fiesco, Love and Intrigue, and the Ghost-Seer.

Schlegel's Philosophy of Life and of Language, translated by A. J. W. Morrison.

——— **History of Literature,** Ancient and Modern. Now first completely translated, with General Index.

——— **Philosophy of History.** Translated by J. B. Robertson. *Portrait.*

——— **Dramatic Literature.** Translated. *Portrait.*

——— **Modern History.**

——— **Æsthetic and Miscellaneous** Works.

Sheridan's Dramatic Works and Life. *Portrait.*

Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe. Translated by Roscoe. *Portraits.* In 2 vols.

Smith's (Adam) Theory of the Moral Sentiments; with his Essay on the First Formation of Languages.

Smyth's (Professor) Lectures on Modern History. In 2 vols.

——— **Lectures on the French Re**volution. In 2 vols.

Sturm's Morning Communings with God, or Devotional Meditations for Every Day in the Year.

Taylor's (Bishop Jeremy) Holy Living and Dying. *Portrait.*

Thierry's Conquest of England by the Normans. Translated by William Hazlitt. *Portrait.* In 2 vols.

——— **Tiers Etat, or Third Estate,** in France. Translated by F. B. Wells. 2 vols. in one. 5*s.*

Vasari's Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Translated by Mrs. Foster. 5 vols.

Wesley's (John) Life. By Robert Southey. New and Complete Edition. Double volume. 5*s.*

Wheatley on the Book of Common Prayer. *Frontispiece.*

II.

Uniform with Bohn's Standard Library.

Bailey's (P. J.) Festus. A Poem. Seventh Edition, revised and enlarged. 5*s.*

British Poets, from Milton to Kirke White. Cabinet Edition. In 4 vols. 14*s.*

Cary's Translation of Dante's Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Classic Tales. Comprising in One volume the most esteemed works of the imagination. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Demosthenes and Æschines, the Orations of. Translated by Leland. 3*s.*

Dickson and Mowbray on Poultry. Edited by Mrs. Loudon. *Illustrations by Harvey.* 5*s.*

Guizot's Monk and His Contemporaries. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hawthorne's Tales. In 2 vols., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. 1. Twice Told Tales, and the Snow Image.

Vol. 2. Scarlet Letter, and the House with the Seven Gables.

Henry's (Matthew) Commentary on the Psalms. *Numerous Illustrations.* 4*s.* 6*d.*

Hofland's British Angler's Manual. Improved and enlarged, by Edward Jesse, Esq. *Illustrated with* 60 *Engravings.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Horace's Odes and Epodes. Translated by the Rev. W. Sewell. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Irving's (Washington) Complete Works. In 10 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Vol. 1. Salmagundi and Knickerbocker *Portrait of the Author.*

Vol. 2. Sketch Book and Life of Goldsmith.

Vol. 3. Bracebridge Hall and Abbotsford and Newstead.

Vol. 4. Tales of a Traveller and the Alhambra.

Vol. 5. Conquest of Granada and Conquest of Spain.

Vols. 6 and 7. Life of Columbus and Companions of Columbus, with a new Index. *Fine Portrait.*

Vol. 8. Astoria and Tour in the Prairies

Vol. 9. Mahomet and his Successors.

Vol. 10. Conquest of Florida and Adventures of Captain Bonneville.

Irving's (Washington) Life of Washington. *Portrait.* In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— **(Washington) Life and Letters.** By his Nephew, PIERRE E. IRVING. In 2 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

For separate Works, see Cheap Series, p. 15.

Joyce's Introduction to the Arts and Sciences. With Examination Questions. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Lawrence's Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man. *Illustrated.* 5*s.*

Lilly's Introduction to Astrology. With numerous Emendations, by ZADKIEL. 5*s.*

Miller's (Professor) History Philosophically considered. In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

Parkes's Elementary Chemistry. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Political Cyclopædia. In 4 vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— Also bound in 2 vols. with leather backs. 15*s.*

Shakespeare's Works, with Life, by CHALMERS. In diamond type. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— or, *with* 40 *Engravings.* 5*s.*

Uncle Tom's Cabin. With Introductory Remarks by the Rev. J. SHERMAN. *Printed in a large clear type. Illustrations.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Wide, Wide World. By ELIZABETH WETHERALL. *Illustrated with* 10 *highly-finished Steel Engravings.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

III.

Bohn's Historical Library.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 5*s.* PER VOLUME.

Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence. *Illustrated with numerous Portraits, &c.* In 4 vols.

Pepys' Diary and Correspondence. Edited by Lord Braybrooke. With important Additions, including numerous Letters. *Illustrated with many Portraits.* In 4 vols.

Jesse's Memoirs of the Reign of the Stuarts, including the Protectorate. With General Index. *Upwards of* 40 *Portraits.* In 3 vols.

Jesse's Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents. 6 *Portraits.*

Nugent's (Lord) Memorials of Hampden, his Party, and Times. 12 *Portraits.*

Strickland's (Agnes) Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest. From official records and authentic documents, private and public. Revised Edition. In 6 vols.

IV.

Bohn's Library of French Memoirs.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 3*s.* 6*d.* PER VOLUME.

Memoirs of Philip de Commines, containing the Histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., and of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. To which is added, The Scandalous Chronicle, or Secret History of Louis XI. *Portraits.* In 2 vols.

Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, Prime Minister to Henry the Great. *Portraits.* In 4 vols.

V.

Bohn's School and College Series.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY.

Bass's Complete Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament. 2*s.*

New Testament (The) in Greek. Griesbach's Text, with the various readings of Mill and Scholz at foot of page, and Parallel References in the margin; also a Critical Introduction and Chronological Tables. *Two fac-similes of Greek Manuscripts.* (650 pages.) 3*s.* 6*d.*; or with the Lexicon, 5*s.*

VI.

Bohn's Philological and Philosophical Library.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 5*s.* PER VOLUME (EXCEPTING THOSE MARKED OTHERWISE).

Hegel's Lectures on the Philosophy of History. Translated by J. SIBREE, M.A.

Herodotus, Turner's (Dawson W.) Notes to. With Map, &c.

——— **Wheeler's Analysis and** Summary of.

Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. Translated by J. M. D. MEIKLEJOHN.

Logic; or, the Science of Inference. A Popular Manual. By J. DEVEY.

Lowndes' Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. New Edition, enlarged, by H. G. BOHN. Parts I. to X. (A to Z). 3*s.* 6*d.* each. Part XI. (the Appendix Volume). 5*s.* Or the 11 parts in 4 vols., half morocco, 2*l.* 2*s.*

Smith's (Archdeacon) Complete Collection of Synonyms and Antonyms.

Tennemann's Manual of the History of Philosophy. Continued by J. R. MORELL.

Thucydides, Wheeler's Analysis of.

Wheeler's (M.A.) W. A., Dictionary of Names of Fictitious Persons and Places.

Wright's (T.) Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English. In 2 vols. 5*s.* each; or half-bound in 1 vol., 10*s.* 6*d.*

VII.

Bohn's British Classics.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 3*s.* 6*d.* PER VOLUME.

Addison's Works. With the Notes of Bishop HURD, much additional matter, and upwards of 100 Unpublished Letters. Edited by H. G. BOHN. *Portrait and 8 Engravings on Steel.* In 6 vols.

Burke's Works. In 6 Volumes.
- Vol. 1. Vindication of Natural Society, On the Sublime and Beautiful, and Political Miscellanies.
- Vol. 2. French Revolution, &c.
- Vol. 3. Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs; the Catholic Claims, &c.
- Vol. 4. On the Affairs of India, and Charge against Warren Hastings.
- Vol. 5. Conclusion of Charge against Hastings; on a Regicide Peace, &c.
- Vol. 6. Miscellaneous Speeches, &c. With a General Index.

Burke's Speeches on Warren Hastings; and Letters. With Index. In 2 vols. (forming vols. 7 and 8 of the works).

——— **Life.** By PRIOR. New and revised Edition. *Portrait.*

Defoe's Works. Edited by Sir WALTER SCOTT. In 7 vols.

Gibbon's Roman Empire. Complete and Unabridged, with Notes; including, in addition to the Author's own, those of Guizot, Wenck, Niebuhr, Hugo, Neander, and other foreign scholars; and an elaborate Index. Edited by an English Churchman. In 7 vols.

VIII.

Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 5*s.* PER VOLUME.

Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History. With Notes.

Philo Judæus, Works of; the contemporary of Josephus. Translated by C. D. Yonge. In 4 vols.

Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, in continuation of Eusebius. With the Notes of Valesius.

Sozomen's Ecclesiastical History, from A.D. 324-440: and the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius.

Theodoret and Evagrius. Ecclesiastical Histories, from A.D. 332 to A.D. 427 and from A.D. 431 to A.D. 544.

IX.

Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 5s. PER VOLUME.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy. In Anglo-Saxon, with the A. S. Metres, and an English Translation, by the Rev. S. Fox.

Brand's Popular Antiquities of England, Scotland, and Ireland. By Sir HENRY ELLIS. In 3 vols.

Browne's (Sir Thomas) Works. Edited by SIMON WILKIN. In 3 vols.

- Vol. 1. The Vulgar Errors.
- Vol. 2. Religio Medici, and Garden of Cyrus.
- Vol. 3. Urn-Burial, Tracts, and Correspondence.

Chronicles of the Crusaders. Richard of Devizes, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Lord de Joinville.

Chronicles of the Tombs. A Collection of Remarkable Epitaphs. By T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Early Travels in Palestine. Willibald, Sæwulf, Benjamin of Tudela, Mandeville, La Brocquiere, and Maundrell; all unabridged. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT.

Ellis's Early English Metrical Romances. Revised by J. O. HALLIWELL.

Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, with the Two Continuations: comprising Annals of English History to the Reign of Edward I.

Giraldus Cambrensis' Historical Works: Topography of Ireland; History of the Conquest of Ireland; Itinerary through Wales; and Description of Wales. With Index. Edited by THOS. WRIGHT.

Handbook of Proverbs. Comprising all Ray's English Proverbs, with additions; his Foreign Proverbs; and an Alphabetical Index.

Henry of Huntingdon's History of the English, from the Roman Invasion to Henry II.; with the Acts of King Stephen, &c.

Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, with the Continuations by Peter of Blois and other Writers. By H. T. RILEY.

Keightley's Fairy Mythology. *Frontispiece by Cruikshank.*

Lamb's Dramatic Poets of the Time of Elizabeth; including his Selections from the Garrick Plays.

Lepsius's Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai.

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. By Bishop PERCY. With an Abstract of the Eyrbiggia Saga, by Sir WALTER SCOTT. Edited by J. A. BLACKWELL.

Marco Polo's Travels. The Translation of Marsden. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT.

Matthew Paris's Chronicle. In 5 vols.

- FIRST SECTION: Roger of Wendover's Flowers of English History, from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235. Translated by Dr. GILES. In 2 vols.
- SECOND SECTION: From 1235 to 1273. With Index to the entire Work. In 3 vols.

Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History, especially such as relate to the affairs of Britain; to A.D. 1307. Translated by C. D. YONGE. In 2 vols.

Ordericus Vitalis' Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy. Translated with Notes, by T. FORESTER, M.A. In 4 vols.

Pauli's (Dr. R.) Life of Alfred the Great. Translated from the German.

Polyglot of Foreign Proverbs. With English Translations, and a General Index, bringing the whole into parallels, by H. G. BOHN.

Roger De Hoveden's Annals of English History; from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201. Edited by H. T. RILEY. In 2 vols.

Six Old English Chronicles, viz.:— Asser's Life of Alfred, and the Chronicles of Ethelwerd, Gildas, Nennius, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Richard of Cirencester.

William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England. Translated by SHARPE.

Yule-Tide Stories. A Collection of Scandinavian Tales and Traditions. Edited by B. THORPE.

X.

Bohn's Illustrated Library.

UNIFORM WITH THE STANDARD LIBRARY, AT 5s. PER VOLUME (EXCEPTING THOSE MARKED OTHERWISE).

Allen's Battles of the British Navy. Revised and enlarged. *Numerous fine Portraits.* In 2 vols.

Andersen's Danish Legends and Fairy Tales. With many Tales not in any other edition. Translated by CAROLINE PEACHEY. 120 *Wood Engravings.*

Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. In English Verse. By W. S. ROSE. *Twelve fine Engravings.* In 2 vols.

Bechstein's Cage and Chamber Birds. Including Sweet's Warblers. Enlarged edition. *Numerous plates.*

*** All other editions are abridged.

With the plates coloured. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Bonomi's Nineveh and its Palaces. New Edition, revised and considerably enlarged, both in matter and Plates, including a Full Account of the Assyrian Sculptures recently added to the National Collection. *Upwards of* 300 *Engravings.*

Butler's Hudibras. With Variorum Notes, a Biography, and a General Index. Edited by HENRY G. BOHN. *Thirty beautiful Illustrations.*

——— ; or, *further illustrated with* 62 *Outline Portraits.* In 2 vols. 10*s*.

Cattermole's Evenings at Haddon Hall. 24 *exquisite Engravings on Steel, from designs by himself,* the Letterpress by the BARONESS DE CARABELLA.

China, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, with some Account of Ava and the Burmese, Siam, and Anam. *Nearly* 100 *Illustrations.*

Craik's (G. L.) Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties, illustrated by Anecdotes and Memoirs. Revised Edition. *With numerous Portraits.*

Cruikshank's Three Courses and a Dessert. A Series of Tales, *with* 50 *humorous Illustrations by Cruikshank.*

Dante. Translated by I. C. WRIGHT, M.A. New Edition, carefully revised. *Portrait and* 34 *Illustrations on Steel, after Flaxman.*

Didron's History of Christian Art; or, Christian Iconography. From the French. *Upwards of* 150 *beautiful outline Engravings.* Vol. I. (Mons. Didron has not yet written the second volume.)

Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture. *Numerous Illustrations.* 6*s*.

Gil Blas, The Adventures of. 24 *Engravings on Steel, after Smirke, and* 10 *Etchings by George Cruikshank.* (612 pages.) 6*s*.

Grimm's Gammer Grethel; or, German Fairy Tales and Popular Stories. Translated by EDGAR TAYLOR. *Numerous Woodcuts by Cruikshank.* 3*s*. 6*d*.

Holbein's Dance of Death, and Bible Cuts. *Upwards of* 150 *subjects, beautifully engraved in fac-simile,* with Introduction and Descriptions by the late FRANCIS DOUCE and Dr. T. F. DIBDIN. 2 vols. in 1. 7*s*. 6*d*.

Howitt's (Mary) Pictorial Calendar of the Seasons. Embodying the whole of Aiken's Calendar of Nature. *Upwards of* 100 *Engravings.*

——— **(Mary and William) Stories** of English and Foreign Life. *Twenty beautiful Engravings.*

India, Pictorial, Descriptive, and Historical, from the Earliest Times to the Present. *Upwards of* 100 *fine Engravings on Wood, and a Map.*

Jesse's Anecdotes of Dogs. New Edition, with large additions. *Numerous fine Woodcuts after Harvey, Bewick, and others*

——— ; or, *with the addition of* 34 *highly-finished Steel Engravings.* 7*s*. 6*d*.

King's Natural History of Precious Stones, and of the Precious Metals. *With numerous Illustrations.* Price 6*s*.

Kitto's Scripture Lands and Biblical Atlas. 24 *Maps, beautifully engraved on Steel,* with a Consulting Index.

——— ; *with the maps coloured,* 7*s*. 6*d*.

Krummacher's Parables. Translated from the German. *Forty Illustrations by Clayton, engraved by Dalziel.*

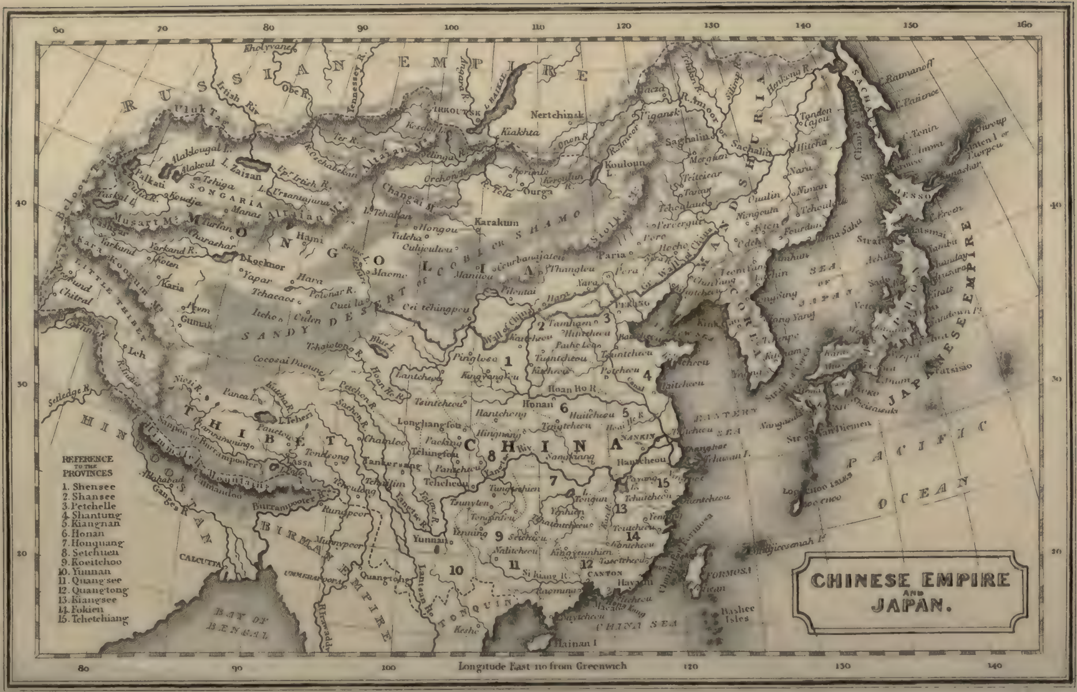
Lindsay's (Lord) Letters on Egypt, Edom, and the Holy Land. New Edition, enlarged. *Thirty-six beautiful Engravings, and* 2 *Maps.*

Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain, with Memoirs. *Two Hundred and Forty Portraits, beautifully engraved on Steel.* 8 vols.

BOHN'S ILLUSTRATED LIBRARY.

CHINA

PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL.


CHINESE EMPIRE AND JAPAN.
REFERENCE TO THE PROVINCES
1. Shensee
2. Shansee
3. Petchelle
4. Shantung
5. Kiangnan
6. Honan
7. Honquang
8. Setchuen
9. Koeitchoo
10. Yunnan
11. Quang'see
12. Quang'tong
13. Kiang'see
14. Fokien
15. Tchetchiang
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
MONGOLIA
DESERT OF COBI OR SHAMO
SANDY DESERT
SONGARIA
MANDSHURIA
COREA
CHINA
THIBET
LITTLE THIBET
HINDOOSTAN
BIRMAN EMPIRE
TONQUIN
JAPANESE EMPIRE
SEA OF JAPAN
EASTERN SEA
CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
JESSO
SACHALIN
FORMOSA
Hainan I.
Bashee Isles
PEKING
NANKIN
CANTON
CALCUTTA
LASSA
Macao
Hong Kong
Irkoutsk
Kiakhta
Nertchinsk
Ourga
Karakum
Great Wall of China
L. Baikal
Angara R.
R. Amoor
Irtish Riv.
Obe R.
Yennessey R.
Altaian Mts.
Musart Ms.
Koorun Ms.
Himmaleh Mountains
R. Indus
Ganges R.
Burrampooter R.
R. Irawaddy
Hoan Ho R.
Yangtse R.
Kiang R.
Si Kiang R.
Blue L.
L. Zaizan
Loo Choo Isles
Longitude East 110 from Greenwich
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
150
160
40
30
20

Ch.
5393

CHINA

PICTORIAL, DESCRIPTIVE, AND HISTORICAL.

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

AVA AND THE BURMESE,

SIAM, AND ANAM.

WITH

NEARLY ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS.

115847
12/6/11

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

MDCCCLIII.

LONDON:
Printed by G. Barclay, Castle St. Leicester Sq.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE earlier portion of this Work (to page 265), which relates exclusively to China, was written by MISS CORNER. In the present Edition this has been carefully revised, and the remainder of the volume furnished by a gentleman who has devoted much time to the study of China and the Indo-Chinese nations.

H. G. B.

YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
July 1, 1853.

INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, LANGUAGE, ANCIENT INTERCOURSE WITH EUROPE.

IN extent, in square miles, and in gross amount of population, China is not only one of the greatest empires in the world, but one of the very greatest that has ever existed, or, rather, that has ever cohered for so great a length of time. With all its dependencies and tributary states, it may be considered as extending from the north of the sea of Japan to the river Sihon in the west—a space of 81 degrees, equal to 4900 British miles. From north to south, it stretches from the Ural mountains, in north latitude 50°, to the southern border, about latitude 21°, being twenty-nine degrees, or nearly 2300 British miles. Of this immense area, China Proper measures about 1200 geographical miles in length, and not much less in average breadth. Beyond the widest limits are other regions, professing dependence on the Celestial empire, or whose populations have the laws and manners, and speak or read the language, of the Chinese; with whom, in fact, their own are almost identified.

The climate of China presents every variety of temperature, from the snows and chilling blasts of Siberia to the scorching heat of the torrid zone, on its southern borders. In other words, nearly every kind of climate may be found within the limits of the empire. "No country," says a recent writer, "presents greater diversities in its physical, geography, productions, and natural history, than this extensive territory, whether we regard its verdant and cultivated plains, or its sterile and solitary deserts, its mountains and its valleys, its gigantic rivers, its cities teeming with intelligent and civilised inhabitants, or its mountain fastnesses and its forests, the abodes of wild beasts or marauding banditti. Its frontier barrier—the Great Wall—and its principal Canal, are justly regarded, from their magnitude and antiquity, as among the wonders of the world."*

The loftiest mountains are chiefly at the extremities of the empire, but in the interior are found many ridges, ranging in elevation from 3000 to 8000 feet. Without considering the difference and variety of original races (for China, no more than any other great country, was stocked by *one* sole race), the diversity of climate must of necessity have produced a wide difference in its inhabitants; for, to take only the extreme points, the people settled in the bleak regions of the north must have grown up unlike those inhabiting the sultry and enervating south. Even a practised European in China can, at mere sight, make an approximation to the part of the empire to which any Chinese presented to him may belong. The population, though less varied, perhaps, than any inhabiting an equal extent of territory in any other part of the globe, presents this diversity as caused by climate, as also that which proceeds from difference of races. Of these are many others blended and intermixed, but the principal elements or races are the Chinese, Mantchu, Mongol, Kalmuck, Corean, and Thibetan.

In its general aspect, China presents a series of river basins, or broad valleys of rivers, and of low lands along the sea-coast, divided by ranges of hills, which rise in many places to a very considerable elevation. Yun-nan, the south-western province, is exceedingly mountainous, and sends out two branches eastward; one of which separates the valley or basin of the Si-Kiang river from the coasts of the Gulf of Tonquin; the other separates it from the basin of the Yang-tse-kiang river and its affluents, whose basins are themselves divided by ranges which diverge from each other, and from the coasts of the east sea. The basin of the Yang-tse-kiang is separated from that of the Whang-ho by a continuation of high land, which trends eastward from the Peling mountains on the borders of Tartary, but which, terminating before it reaches the coast, leaves a broad alluvial plain between the mouths of these two great rivers. The remaining portion of the country lying between the Whang-ho and gulf of Pe-che-lee consists of the basin of the Pei-ho and the Eu-ho, having the hills of Shantung province on the south, and a cross range on the west, and communicating with the basin of the Whang-ho by an opening at the angle formed by the two ranges. The appearance of even that portion of the country which has been traversed during these last sixty years by Europeans is exceedingly diversified. Between Canton and Peking, a distance of 1200 miles, the first British embassy observed nearly every variety of surface, but each variety was very remarkably disposed in large broad masses. For many days they saw nothing but one continuous plain; for as many days they were hemmed in by precipitous mountains, naked and unvaried; and for ten or twelve days more their course lay through lakes, swamps, and morasses. There was a constant succession of large villages, towns, and cities, with considerable navigable rivers, communicating with each other by means of artificial canals. Both canals and rivers were crowded with boats and barges. They saw no hedgerows, and trees were scarce. Generally the surface of the country rises in terraces from the sea. As yet, its geology is very imperfectly known. China, however, has been well mapped. "The scientific skill of the Jesuit missionaries accomplished a survey of the whole on trigonometrical principles, so admirably correct, as to admit of little improvement; and, with the exception of the British possessions in India, there is no part of Asia so well laid down as China.*

---

* The Rev. W. Ellis, Introduction to Gutzlaff's "Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China."

Since the time of the Jesuits' survey, however, an alteration has taken place in the divisions of the country, as the provinces, which then consisted of *fifteen* in all, have been increased, by the sub-division of three of the largest, to *eighteen.*

The two principal rivers of China occupy a very high rank. The Yang-tse-kiang and the great Yellow River surpass all the rivers of Europe and Asia, and are secondary only to the Amazons and the Mississippi in America. The Yang-tse-kiang, or the "Son of the Sea," rises in Kokonor, not far from the sources of the Yellow River. Making a circuitous course, and receiving the tribute of innumerable streams and the superfluous waters of two immense lakes (the Tong-ting-hoo and the Poyang-hoo), it flows past Nanking into the ocean, which it reaches under the thirty-second parallel of latitude. This vast stream runs with such a strong current, that Lord Amherst's embassy found extreme difficulty in sailing up its course towards the Poyang lake.

The Yellow River also rises in the country of Kokonor; but while the Yang-tse-kiang turns to the south, the Yellow River strikes off abruptly to the north, passes across the Great Wall, making an elbow round the territory of the Ortous, then strikes back and again crosses the Great Wall, whence it flows due south, and forms the boundary of Shan-sy and Shen-si; from which boundary it turns sharply to the east, and so flows on until it reaches the ocean in latitude 34°. It is remarkable that the two great rivers of China, which rise at a small distance from each other, after taking such opposite courses, and being separated by full 15° of latitude, should reach the sea within two degrees of the same point. The stream of the Yellow River is so excessively rapid as to be nearly unnavigable throughout the greater part of its course. It carries along with it a prodigious quantity of yellow mud in a state of solution, and its frequent floods occasion great damage to the country, and expense to the Government in maintaining artificial embankments. But its waters fill numerous canals, which are furnished with locks, and carry fertility to many districts which would otherwise be dry and sterile. As for the internal commerce of the empire, the Chinese are rendered almost entirely independent of the rivers and of coast navigation by their Imperial Canal, which, in point of extent and magnitude of undertaking, is, like the Great Wall, unrivalled by any other work of the kind in the known world.

---

* Sir John Francis Davis, "The Chinese; a general Description of China and its Inhabitants."

This is, on the whole, the best and most complete work that has ever been written by an Englishman about a foreign country and people.

The flat, sandy, and unproductive province in which Peking is situated offers, according to universal report, little that is worthy of notice. The vast plateau, or elevated plain, which surrounds that capital, is entirely devoid of trees, but wood is procured from the nearest hills and mountains of Tartary. The province of Keang-nan, now divided into two, is described as the richest province in all China. It is famous for its silks and japanned goods, made principally at Soo-chow, a very ancient city. Nanking, the capital of the province, and at one time of the whole empire, measures seventeen English miles in circumference; but only a corner of this vast area is now occupied by the habitations of men, the city having suffered greatly in the wars with the Tartars, and in consequence of the removal of the court and capital to Peking. In the district of Hoey-chow-foo, the most southern part of the province, is grown the best green tea; the soil in which the tea-plants are reared is a decomposition of granite, abounding in felspar, as is proved by the soil being extensively used in the manufacture of fine porcelain. Thus, as Davis observes, the same soil produces the tea and the cups in which it is drunk.

The adjoining province of Keang-sy is described as being, in natural scenery and climate, the most delightful part of the empire. Here the Poyang Lake, in size approaching the character of an inland sea, spreads its broad waters, and exhibits on its west side a long frame-work of strikingly beautiful mountain-scenery.

The maritime province of Che-keang competes with the great province of Keang-nan in the production of silk and the extent of its plantations of young mulberry-trees, which are constantly lopped and renewed, as the most certain way of improving the silk spun by the worms which feed on the leaves. The younger the tree, the more tender the leaves; and the more tender the leaves, the finer the silk. It is by want of attention to this rule that silk, in several parts of the continent of Europe and in various Asiatic countries, has deteriorated in quality. The principal city of this province is the celebrated Hang-chow, close to the famous lake Sy-hoo. This beautiful lake is about six miles in circumference, its water is quite limpid, and almost overspread with the beautiful water-lily. It figures continually in Chinese tales, poems, apothegms, similes, and songs, and is held as a place sacred to pleasure and enjoyment. Its extensive sheet of water is described as being covered with barges, which are splendidly fitted up, and appear to be the perpetual abodes of gaiety and dissipation. The province of Fokien, which is contiguous to Che-keang, and like it maritime, is very far from being so fertile. But its inhabitants are the best sailors, and the boldest and most adventurous part of the Chinese population; they chiefly supply the emperor's war-junks with sailors and commanders; they build an immense number of the trading junks that are found in the seas of China and Malacca, and they furnish the greater part of the Chinese emigrants to foreign countries. Fokien, moreover, is the great country of the black teas; and our word Bohea is merely a corruption of *Bu-ee*, the name which the natives give to the hills on which those black teas are principally grown.

The inland provinces of the empire, though surveyed by the Jesuits, are less known to Europeans, and are believed to be less suited to the purposes of commerce. One of the largest of them is Hoo-Kuang, which is divided by the vast lake, Tong-ting-hoo. To the south-west of this is the province of Kuang-sy; and to the north of Kuang-sy, a mountainous province, inhabited by a race called Meaou-tse, who have ever defied the Chinese in the midst of their empire, and maintained their independence in their rugged country and mountain fastnesses in spite of every effort made by the Celestial emperors to subdue them. The greatest of Chinese armies have failed in penetrating into the country, and have invariably retreated from that iron boundary with shame and heavy loss. The ridges occupied by these Meaou-tse are said to extend from west to east for the length of nearly 400 miles. The men do not shave off their hair like the Tartars and Chinese, but wear it tied up in the ancient fashion of the Celestials before they were conquered by the Mantchu Tartars. The Chinese, who both hate and fear them, in affected contempt call them "dog-men," and "wolf-men," and vow that they have tails like apes and baboons. There is hardly any intercourse between the two. The Chinese, without venturing into their mountains, purchase from them the timber-trees of their forests; and these being thrown into the rapid rivers which intersect the upland country, are floated down into the plains. The Meaou-tse manufacture carpets for their own use, and make linen from a species of wild hemp. They are said to inhabit houses of one story, raised on tall piles, and to stable their domestic animals under their houses.

The province of Yun-nan, the most western part of China Proper, borders on the Burmese territory, and extends nearly to Amara-pura, the old capital of that kingdom. It is extremely mountainous, and abounds in metals and other valuable minerals, among which is said to be good coal. The copper is said to be very fine, and nearly equal in quality to the copper worked in the islands of Japan. Gold is found in the sands of the rivers, and the Yang-tse-kiang, in this part of its course. is called the "golden-sanded river." Towards the north-west of this province, and the borders of the Thibet country, is found the *Yak*, or cow of Thibet, the tails of which are so famous The people of the province use the tail-hairs in various manufactures, particularly carpets. Though presenting a more Alpine character than any other part of China Proper, Yun-nan yet contains some extensive, broad, and finely-watered plains.

The extensive province on the north-east of Yun-nan is traversed by very lofty mountains, called the "Mountains of Snow." These peaks, which are probably from 10,000 to 12,000 feet high, look over the mysterious, closed country of the Delli Lama. The province of Shen-sy, which also borders on Thibet, is said to abound in mineral wealth — in mines which have neither been worked nor visited by any people of the west for very many ages. Both this country and the adjoining province of Shan-sy, towards Peking, abound in craters and other symptoms of extensive and tremendous volcanic action. Sulphur, tufo, salt-water lakes, hot wells, springs with jets of inflammable gas, pools of *petroleum* (which the Chinese burn in lamps), are found all through these regions.

The countries contiguous to, and dependent on, China, may be briefly dismissed. The region of Mantchu Tartary consists of three provinces,— 1. Mougden, or Shing-King, commences at the eastern extremity of the Great Wall, and is bounded on the south by the gulf of Pe-che-lee. Here, in the country from which they originally came, the emperors are buried. 2. Kirin, the second province of Mantchu Tartary, is to the eastward of Mougden, and borders on Corea. Here the famous wild plant, *ginseng*, to which the Chinese attribute miraculous properties, is gathered, as an exclusive monopoly of the emperor. They would never believe that this plant could grow in any other part of the world; but a few years ago some Americans carried the very same to Canton, it having been discovered in their New-England States, in a climate and situation very similar to those of Eastern Tartary. 3. Heloong-keang, or " the river of the Black Dragon," is inhabited by the Tagours, and borders on the Russian territory. The river which gives its name to the province is, in fact, the Amur.

All these regions are excessively cold in winter, and sterile, and thinly peopled. The population seems to be chiefly employed in tending sheep, or rearing horses and other cattle. As they approach the frontiers of the dominions of the Tzar of Russia they become very independent of Chinese rule, yet they acknowledge the laws and follow most of the customs of the "Central Kingdom."

The western or Mongol Tartars, commencing from the western line of the Great Wall, extend as a distinct race to the very borders of the Caspian Sea, where they, too, give the hand to the subjects of Russia. They are thoroughly a nomadic people, wandering with their flocks from one region to another, dwelling in tents, and still making use of the bow and arrow in warfare as in hunting. They appear to be all Buddhists; the bonzes or priests, who accompany them in their wanderings, are called Shamans. They are governed through the medium of their own princes or khans, but a vast portion of them acknowledge a dependence on China.

On the western side of China, bordering principally on the province of Szehuen, are other Tartar tribes, called the Sy-fan, or Too-fan, who occupy inaccessible mountains, and are pretty independent of the Chinese, who, however, count them among their subjects: they are all Buddhists, and said to be completely under the control of their Llama priests, and excessively superstitious.

On the southern side of China, bordering on Yun-nan, are the Lolos, a people very similar in aspect, habits, language, and religion, to the Burmese, or people of Ava, from whose territories they are not very distant. The imperial authority over them is but doubtful, although their chiefs receive titles of honour from Peking. On the utmost outskirts of the empire, towards the west, are found a number of small settlements or stations, called "native jurisdictions," where the people are ruled by their own khans, but, apparently, still in the name of the emperor.

The principal islands of China are Formosa and Haenan, which are both completely exposed to the power of any considerable maritime and commercial nation that may wish to try the experiment of an insular settlement near the coast of China. Formosa, which owes its present name to the Portuguese, who called it *Ilha Formosa* (the beautiful island), is by far the more desirable region of the two. It lies just opposite the coast of Fokien, from which it is distant about 20 leagues. It is nearly 200 miles long, with an average breadth of about 50 miles: the climate is delightful. The island is divided longitudinally by a chain of high mountains; westward of this chain it is occupied by the Chinese, but the country eastward of the mountains is still inhabited by the aborigines, who are described as a primitive and savage race, bearing some common resemblance to the Malays, and to the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific. Sir John F. Davis fully confirms the opinion of other observers, that the position of Formosa, opposite to the central coasts of China, would render it a most advantageous situation for the promotion of European trade. Haenan, the second island, is rather smaller than Formosa, being about 150 miles in length by 60 in breadth. It is separated from the continental province of Kuang-Tung by a very narrow and shallow strait. The climate is excessively hot, and the island is much exposed to those terrible tempests, the typhoons, which annually strew the Chinese seas with wrecks. The mountains in the interior of Haenan are occupied by another wild race, who not unfrequently beat up the quarters of the Chinese on the coast, and who might, at least for a time, be troublesome to any new settlers. But the excessive heats and the storms are long likely to deter emigrants, while Formosa is almost sure to attract them, a little sooner or later.

The Chinese affect to treat all countries as tributary that have once sent an ambassador to their court. In their fantastic court calendar, Portugal, Spain, Holland, England, are all tributaries. Their list must be greatly shortened, but still there would remain really tributary states. The principal of these are Corea, Cochin-China, Loo-Choo, and Siam. All these annually send their tribute to Peking, and, with very little interruption, they appear to have done so for many ages.

If we limit our observations to China Proper (which, it must be remembered, is about 1400 English miles long, and nearly as broad as it is long), and make every deduction for the less favoured parts of the land, we must still admit, with our oldest travellers, that it deserves the name of a vast, a fertile, a wealthy, and a beautiful country.

China is uncommonly rich in vegetable productions. The southern provinces possess all that are found growing in the tropical regions. In other parts, oranges, lemons, teas, sugar-canes, rice, pomegranates, black and white mulberries, the vine, walnut, chestnut, peach, apricot, and fig, are seen growing on the same spot of ground. Camellias, cypresses, and bamboos, of all sorts and sizes, and in immense quantities, are also found. The mountains, for the most part, are covered with pines and other forest trees. The list we already possess of Chinese plants is a very copious one, but many new discoveries remain to gratify and reward botanical research. The principal object of cultivation is rice; but in the north-western provinces, where there are many districts too cold and dry for this grain, rice is replaced by wheat. Yams, potatoes, turnips, onions, beans, and, above all, a white kind of cabbage, called *potsai*, are extensively and very carefully cultivated. The Chinese pay more attention to the manuring of the soil of their gardens and orchards than any other people, whether in the east or in the west.

The Zoology is very rich and varied; for although China possesses scarcely any animals which are not to be found in some other countries, she has within her wide limits and diversified surface nearly all those which are found collectively in *all* the other countries of the globe. The elephant, the rhinoceros, the dromedary, abound in various parts. Bears are very common in the hilly country west of Peking, and the paws of these animals, which abound in fat, are eaten by the Chinese as a delicacy. Deer of various kinds, from the majestic elk to the diminutive tippity, wild boars, foxes, and other wild animals, swarm in some of the provinces. The lion, the Bengal tiger, the leopard, the once, the lynx, the hyæna, the jackal, and other savage creatures, are found. According to the Jesuit missionaries, and to their successors in our own days, the tiger abounds to a fearful extent in some parts of the empire; but we are inclined to believe that a good many of the animals they saw in their lonely perambulations were not tigers, but leopards. The lion has become degenerate and scarce. The woods of the south swarm with the breed of a wild cat, which, though rather small, is fierce, and altogether untameable. This noxious creature is considered by Chinese epicures as an exquisite kind of *game*, and it is served up in ragoûts and stews at table, after being fed for some time in a cage.

They have domesticated the horse, the ox, the buffalo, the dog, the cat, the pig, and all the other animals which have been domesticated in Europe, together with some creatures with which we have failed. They eat, indiscriminately, almost every living creature which comes in their way; dogs, cats, hawks, owls, eagles, and storks, are regular marketable commodities: in default of which, a dish of rats, field-mice, or snakes, is not objected to. Cockroaches, and other insects and reptiles, are used for food or for medicine. Their taste for dogs' flesh is quite a passion. Young pups — plump, succulent, and tender—fetch good prices at the market-stalls, where a supply is always to be found. A dish of puppies, prepared by a skilful cook, is esteemed as a dish fit for the gods. At every grand banquet it makes its appearance as a hash or stew. A young Englishman attached to our Canton factory, dining one day with a wealthy Hong merchant, was determined to satisfy his curiosity in Chinese gastronomy by tasting all, or most of the numerous dishes which were successively handed round. One dish pleased him so well that he ate nearly all that was put before him. On returning homewards some of his companions asked him how he liked the dinner, and how such and such dishes; and then began to imitate the whining and barking of half-a-dozen puppies. The poor young man then understood, for the first time, that he had been eating dog, and was very angry, and very sick at the stomach. Other Europeans, however, have been known to declare that they succeeded in conquering a prejudice, and that a six-weeks old pup, properly fattened upon rice, and dressed *à la Chinoise*, was really a *bonne bouche*. Some of the native birds are very splendid. The gold and silver pheasants of China are now quite familiar to the eye in England. The still more splendid bird, called the *Reeves's pheasant*, is still a rarity, even in China. Its tail feathers are of the extraordinary length of six feet, and surpassingly beautiful. It comes from the cold climate of the north, and might be propagated in England in a natural state, but, unfortunately, Mr. Reeves could procure only four male birds. Another description is called by the eminent naturalist, Mr. Bennett, the *medallion* pheasant, from a beautiful membrane of resplendent colours, which is displayed or contracted according as the bird is more or less roused. The brilliant hues are chiefly purple, with bright red and green spots, which vary in intensity according to the degree of excitement. It should appear that this rare pheasant might be acclimated in most parts of Europe, and in our own islands. The country abounds in wild fowls of all kinds. The immense flocks of geese and wild ducks, which, during the winter months, quite cover the Canton river, excite the notice of all strangers. In the summer season they migrate to the north. A handsome species of teal, usually called "the mandarin duck," is very common. Unlike its fellows, it generally roosts in high situations, upon trees or rocks. The fishing cormorant, which the Chinese have perfectly tamed and trained to their will, is well known by drawings, engravings, and descriptions. It is a brown bird, of the pelican family, with yellow bill, white throat, and whitish breast spotted with brown, having a compact rounded tail. While employed in diving and fishing for their masters, these birds are prevented from swallowing what they catch by means of a ring or tight collar passed over the lower part of the neck; but when their work is over, this ring is removed, and they are allowed to fish for themselves, or to feed upon the refuse. It is said, however, that they are sometimes so perfectly trained and disciplined, as to need no restraint whatever —that they will finish the work for their masters before they think of themselves. On the Canton river, and on nearly every other considerable stream, there is a large aquatic population, dwelling in boats and barges, and seldom setting foot on shore. With two or three good fishing cormorants, a family of this sort can nearly support itself. Quails are very abundant, and the Chinese have trained them to fight, like our game-cocks. The sport is much cherished by the common people, who will frequently stake all they possess on the result of a quail-fight. A delicate species of ortolan makes its appearance in the neighbourhood of Canton during the rice-harvest. The Chinese call it the "rice-bird."

In other parts of the empire, crocodiles, alligators, and monstrous serpents exist; but the neighbourhood of Canton, though under the tropic, is little infested by these reptiles, or by any venomous creatures. There is, however, a slender snake, between two and three feet long, which is very much dreaded by the natives, and the bite of which is said to cause inevitable death in a few hours. It is covered from head to tail with alternate bands of black and white, and is called by the Chinese the black-and-white snake.

Fish are in great and almost endless variety. Besides those produced in the seas, gulfs, bays, and estuaries, fresh-water fish (of which great care is taken) swarm in most of the rivers, lakes, canals, and brooks. On the sea-coast and at Canton the sturgeon is held in high estimation. Sir John F. Davis remarks, "The Chinese stew made from this fish is so palatable, as to have been introduced at the tables of Europeans. Some gastronome or other has observed, that every country affords at least *one good dish.*" Is stewed sturgeon the one good dish of China? We have heard of others, but think we should prefer it to stewed puppy or a fry of cockroaches. The beautiful gold and silver fishes which ornament our vases and garden ponds came originally from China, where they are very numerous. They are a species of carp, and were carried by the Dutch first to Java, and thence to Holland. But, according to another account, they were first brought to Europe by some of the Jesuit missionaries, to whom we are indebted for many other importations, and for more information about China and the adjacent countries than has been supplied from any other quarter or class of men.

Among the insects of China, there are some which call for notice even in a brief and general sketch like the present. A monstrous spider is found inhabiting trees, and attaining to such size and strength as to be able to catch and devour small birds, as our spiders do flies. Locusts sometimes commit extensive ravages, but it is said that their depredations do not usually extend over any great track of country at once, and that they seldom appear two years successively. Eastward of the city of Canton, on a range of hills called Lo-fow-shan, there are butterflies of large size, and night-moths of immense dimensions and most brilliant colouring, which are captured for transmission to the court at Peking, and for sale at Canton and other cities. Some of these insects measure nine inches across; their ground colour is a rich and varied orange-brown, in the centre of each wing there is a triangular transparent spot, resembling a piece of mica.

Sphinx-moths, also, of great beauty and size, are common around Canton, and in their splendid colouring, rapid, noiseless flight from flower to flower, at the close of day, remind one of the humming-bird. The common cricket is caught and sold in the markets for gambling, and persons of high rank, as well as the vulgar, amuse themselves by irritating two of these insects in a bowl, and betting upon which shall prove the conqueror. A gigantic species of the *cicada*—described as being more than four times the size of the cicada of the south of Italy and Greece—is very common among the trees in the neighbourhood of Canton, and in every other part of the country where the climate is warm and the pine-tree abundant. All through the summer its stridulous sound is heard from the trees and woods, with deafening loudness. Even those who have been stunned by the noise of the cicala in the pine-forests of the Italian peninsula, have been astonished and almost stunned by the Chinese insect. These loud sounds proceed solely from the males, the females being perfectly silent. This difference must have been known to the old Greek epigrammatist, who said, "The male cicada leads a happy life, for he makes all the noise himself, and his wife makes none." Chinese boys often capture the males, tie a straw round the abdomen, so as to irritate the sounding apparatus, and carry them through the streets in this predicament, to the great annoyance of strangers. The fire-fly, or, as it is called here, the "lantern-fly," is very abundant in many parts of the empire. It is far larger than the fire-fly of Southern Europe, and said to be infinitely more luminous. It has orange-yellow wings, with black extremities. Its appearance, when seen flitting through the skirts of a thicket or grove, in the summer evenings, is striking and poetical, and imparts a brilliant aspect to the shades of night. The *pe-la-shoo*, or wax-tree, affords nourishment to an insect which is smaller than a common English fly, and which is supposed to belong to the coccus tribe, though it would appear not to have been as yet correctly examined or classed by entomologists. It is covered with a white powder, which it imparts to the stem of the particular plant it inhabits, from the bark of which it is collected by the natives. This substance resembles bees'-wax, and is used as such. A casing of it, coloured with vermilion, is often used to enclose the tallow candle. Small as are these insects, the quantity of wax is said to be very considerable. This wax is used as a medicine, as well as made into candles and tapers. The tree or shrub it inhabits resembles our privet. An insect, examined during our first embassy to China, by the late Sir George Staunton, was completely covered with a white powder, and the stem of the shrub from which it was taken was whitened all over by a similar substance. Wax is also made from wild and domestic bees, but honey is said not to be much in demand.

According to an official document published at Peking, which our best Chinese scholars and investigators have accepted as authentic, the population of China and its colonies and dependencies amounted, a quarter of a century ago, to considerably more than 360,000,000.

This statement was made after a census, and is contained in the last collection of statutes put forth by the late emperor. The learned Mr. J. R. Morrison observes, "It will probably serve to set at rest the numerous speculations concerning the real amount of population. We know, from several authorities, that in China the people are in the habit of diminishing, rather than increasing, their numbers in their reports to Government. And it is unreasonable to suppose that in a work published by the Government, not for the information of curious inquirers, but for the use of its own officers, the numbers so reported by the people should be more than doubled, as the statements of some European speculators would require us to believe."*

Whatever view we take of China,—whether we regard it in its vastness of dimensions and amount of population, the singularity and extensive use of its *written* language, the varieties of its literature, its early acquaintance with the arts and most useful inventions of civilised life, the stupendous monuments of its skill and power, its indisputably high and venerable antiquity, or the nations now amalgamated under its rule,—it is impossible to contemplate it without intense interest.†

The extent to which the *written* language is understood, renders it one of the most remarkable that has ever been used amongst mankind. Dr. Morrison says,—"The Chinese language is now *read* by a population of different nations, amounting to a large proportion of the human race, and over a most extensive geographical space,—from the borders of Russia on the north, throughout Chinese Tartary on the west, and in the east as far as Kamschatka; and downwards, through Corea and Japan, in the Loo Choo Islands, Cochin-China, and the islands of that archipelago, on most of which are Chinese settlers, till you come down to the equinoctial line at Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and even beyond it on Java. Throughout all these regions, however dialects may differ and oral languages be confounded, the Chinese *written* language is understood by all. The voyager and the merchant, the traveller and the Chinese missionary, if he can *write* Chinese, may make himself understood throughout the whole of Eastern Asia."‡

The Chinese, as is well known, is a language to the eye, and understood by all the nations who have received and learned its extraordinary characters, however different their vernacular or spoken languages may be from the spoken languages of China. Mr. J. Crawfurd, on his embassy to Siam and Cochin China, stopped at an island in the Gulf of Siam, which was inhabited only by a few poor Cochin-Chinese fishermen and their families. They could not speak a word of Chinese, but they could read Chinese characters; and when Mr. Crawfurd's interpreter wrote down questions in Chinese, one of the head fishermen gave him intelligible replies in writing, in the same character. Not a word, not a syllable, was exchanged orally between the two, and yet our envoy obtained the information he wanted about the island.*

---

* "Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Kalendar for 1832," printed at Canton.

Mr. Morrison, the editor of this publication, is the son of the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, who has done so much to spread a knowledge of the language and customs of the Chinese. Treading in the steps of his honoured father, Mr. Morrison has devoted his energies to the same difficult task.

† Rev. W. Ellis, Introductory Essay to Gutzlaff's "Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China."

‡ "Chinese Miscellany," vol. i.

But if a knowledge of the written language will carry a traveller all through Eastern Asia, a familiarity with the spoken tongue is invaluable in China. It is a passport to the confidence of the people, and a full knowledge of the people is not to be obtained without it.

A recent American missionary was returning home one evening on a narrow causeway running across the rice-fields, when just a-head he saw a little boy standing by the side of his father, The child began to whimper on seeing the ogre of a barbarian coming, but the parent instantly pacified him by saying, "Don't cry, he won't hurt you; he can talk Chinese."†

Although China was, incontestably, a great empire in the flourishing time of the Greek republics, and at the later period when the Macedonian conqueror invaded India, it is now admitted on every hand that the Greeks had no knowledge of it at either of these periods. Alexander seems to have fancied that the remotest East ended with India. "Were modern conqueror to stop on the banks of the Ganges, and sigh that he had no more nations to subdue, what has been admired in the pupil of Aristotle himself would be a mere absurdity in the most ignorant chieftain of our times."‡ Until some centuries after the death of Alexander the Great, there is not in any Greek writer a single word or phrase that can be twisted or tortured, by any ingenuity, so as to signify China.

---

* "Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the courts of Siam and Cochin-China."

† S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom; or, a Survey of the Chinese Empire, &c." New York, 1848.

‡ Sir J. F. Davis, "The Chinese."

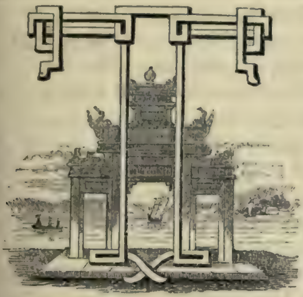
The Romans, even as late as the time of the Emperor Augustus, or on the very eve of the Christian era, seem to have known no more of the Chinese than was known to the Greeks, whom they had succeeded as conquerors, colonists, and explorers. The people mentioned by Horace and other Latin writers under the name of *Seres*, were not Chinese, but a people inhabiting a part of Asia (no doubt India) far to the westward of China; and these people furnished the Romans, not with *silk*, but with fine cotton manufactures—the gauzes and muslin of modern commerce. About 140 years after the birth of Christ, Arrian first speaks of the *Sinæ*, or Thinæ, a people in the remotest parts of Asia, by whom were exported the raw and manufactured silks, which were brought by the way of Bactria (Bokhara) westward, to be sold at Rome, and the other great and luxurious cities of that empire. It must, at least, have been known by this date that there was some rich, extensive, and civilised country beyond the most eastern limits of India. The eager demand for silk, which was brought in continually increasing quantities by land caravans through central Asia and Asia Minor to the shores of the Mediterranean or Black Sea, awakened curiosity as to the country of its production, preparation, and manufacture. Some twenty years after the time in which Arrian wrote, the Roman emperor, Marcus Antoninus, despatched an embassy to the ruler of the land of silks, without knowing with any precision where that country was situated. The mission embarked either on the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, and appears to have pursued the same navigation (across the Indian Ocean, and along the coasts of India, Pegu, Siam, and Malacca,) which was afterwards commonly followed by the mariners and traders of Arabia. The learned De Guignes shows, from Chinese authors, that this expedition took place in A.D. 160. Like nearly every attempt of the kind in subsequent days, the mission of Antoninus appears to have been an entire failure, and to have returned without accomplishing any practical benefit to intercourse or trade between the two greatest empires in the world. It is believed that it was received at Low-Yang, at that time the capital, with ostentatious show and patronising kindness. The embassy is noticed in an old Chinese work, "History Made Easy," where it is stated that, in the reign of Wan-ti, of the dynasty of Han, a people came from India and other western nations with tribute; and from that time foreign trade was carried on with Canton. This maritime trade, however, appears to have been very scanty, until it was taken up in good earnest by the enterprising Arabs, who before the eighth century had a great factory at Canton, and extensive establishments and a very considerable Arab population in some other of the maritime parts of the empire. It appears to have been chiefly in the ships of these people that a very considerable number of Parsees, Jews, and Nestorian Christians, were conveyed to the Coromandel coast, and even to China, where they amounted to very many thousands by the middle of the ninth century.

Carpini, St. Quintin, Rubruquis, and the other missionary monks despatched by Pope Innocent IV. and Louis IX. of France, in the middle of the thirteenth century, to the Grand Khan of the Tartars, in order to stop that peeple's destructive irruptions into Western Europe, never reached any region at all near to the frontiers of China. It was not until the return of the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo, or, rather, not until Marco produced the written account of his travels (somewhere between the years 1298 and 1308), that a flood of Chinese light was let in upon Europe, and that the "Middle Kingdom" really ceased to be what it had so long been—a more than half-fabulous country.

The other links in the chain of the history of the intercourse between the nations of the West and the Chinese will be found briefly related, in chronological order, in the course of the following sketches.

CHINA

EARLY HISTORY.



THE origin of the Chinese monarchy is unknown, but its high antiquity is too well attested to admit of the slightest doubt. Some native historians, who have been followed without any examination, or even reflection, by European writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, place the foundation of the empire in the third century after the deluge; but it is now universally admitted, on the testimony of the most respectable Chinese historians, that this is a point which has been very much exaggerated.* Their earliest traditions, like those of the Japanese, the Siamese, and all the neighbouring nations, are wildly and extravagantly fabulous. All their first sovereigns are described as mighty giants, taller than the loftiest pagodas, as beings endowed with all manner of miraculous powers, and gifted with a longevity, compared with which the life of Methusaleh was but a span. "National vanity, and a love of the marvellous, have influenced in a similar manner the early history of most other countries, and furnished materials for nursery tales, as soon as the spirit of sober investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders which marks the infancy of nations as well as of individuals."*

---

* "The Chinese," by Sir John Francis Davis.

It is supposed that the first migratory tribe that passed beyond the deserts of Central Asia settled in the province of Shen-si, which borders on Tartary, where they laid the foundation of the present monarchy, and became the progenitors of the people known to Europeans as the Chinese, who gradually spread themselves over that vast tract of country which they at present occupy. According to most of the native historians, the first mortal or non-fabulous emperor was Fohi, a chief chosen by his countrymen to rule over them, on account of his manifold virtues, and styled by his subjects "the Son of Heaven," a title borne by the sovereigns of China to this day. This Fohi is often and absurdly confounded with Fō, or Buddha. He is said to have invented the arts of music, numbers, &c., and to have taught his subjects to live in a peaceful state, under the protection of wholesome laws. He inhabited what is now the northern province of Shen-si, anciently the country of *Tsin* or *Chin*, whence some derive the word China, by which the empire has been for many ages designated in India.† It is quite uncertain how long a space of time elapsed from the reign of Fohi, if such a person ever existed, to that of Yu the Great, who is probably the first real character in Chinese history, the date of whose accession is fixed at somewhat more than two thousand years before the Christian era. Supposing that the monarchy was established before the time of the patriarch Abraham, we may reasonably conclude, that whilst the mighty Pharaohs were ruling over Egypt, the Chinese were in existence as a great nation. Whether they held any intercourse with the ancient Egyptians is uncertain, but there is sufficient evidence to prove that they had attained to as high a degree of civilisation as that people, and greatly resembled them in many of their laws and customs, which have descended from generation to generation, with so few changes, that there is but little difference between the habits and customs of the Chinese of the present day, and those of their forefathers who dwelt on the land two thousand years ago. The ancient records mention nine sovereigns of the first dynasty, founded by Fohi, whom they suppose to have been gifted with superhuman virtues and knowledge, by which they were enabled to rescue the people from their original barbarism, and to instruct them in the arts of civilised life, which were undoubtedly acquired at a very early period, and promoted by the rulers of the country.

---

* Royal Asiat. Trans. vol. i. "Memoir concerning the Chinese."

† Sir John Francis Davis, "The Chinese."

The earliest and most useful of these arts were husbandry and silk-weaving, both of which must have been taught by necessity as soon as the nation was established, as the people depended for subsistence on the cultivation of the land, and for clothing, on the chief natural produce of the country, adapted for that purpose, which was found in the vast forests of China, where silkworms were abundant on many species of the forest trees. The merit of teaching the people to weave silk into garments, and dye it of various colours, is ascribed to an empress, whose name holds a place in the fabulous history of the empire; and that of instructing them in husbandry, is given to Shin-noong, or "the Divine Husbandman," the immediate successor of Fohi, whose name is held in veneration accordingly: and even to this day the Chinese offer up annual sacrifices, and hold a festival in honour of the princess who first wove silken garments, and the no less praiseworthy monarch who taught his people to plough the earth, and who is commemorated under the title of "the Divine Husbandman."

Agricultural pursuits have always been, and still are, held in the highest estimation by the Chinese, who commence the year with a grand festival in honour of the spring; on which occasion the emperor, in imitation of his ancient predecessor, performs the operations of ploughing and sowing seed in a field set apart for that purpose; a custom that has seldom been neglected by the sovereigns of China, who have thus, by their own example, stimulated their subjects to the performance of these useful labours, and maintained the honourable character of the husbandman, who even now holds a rank in society above that of the soldier or the merchant, however wealthy the latter may be. Among the ancients, particularly the Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks, it was a common practice to hold games and festivals, mingled with religious ceremonies, at that season when the earth is ready to receive the seed; thus showing the cheerfulness with which the farmers returned to their rustic toils, and the reliance they placed on a superior Being to reward them with an abundant harvest. The old festival of Plough Monday, in England, was probably derived from these customs of the ancients, and was formerly celebrated in all the rural districts with great merry-makings on the Monday following twelfth-day; some of the rites observed being not unlike those among the Chinese: as an instance of which, the plough-light was set up before the image of some patron saint in the village church—a custom somewhat similar to that observed among the Chinese, who placed lighted candles opposite certain images in their temples. But as a particular description of the spring festival is reserved for a future page, we will return to the subject of the ancient Chinese emperors. One is said to have been the inventor of writing, another of musical instruments, a third the discoverer of the art of working in metals, while a fourth has the credit of having taught his subjects to build bridges. But how these royal instructors acquired their knowledge of the arts and sciences they taught, history does not inform us; and it is rather amusing to read, that one of the early emperors *ordered* his empress to teach the people to weave silk, although no mention is made that the lady was herself previously acquainted with the art of weaving.

Shin-noong, or the "Divine Husbandman," was the father of other inventions. His successor, Hoang-ty, divided all the lands into groups of nine equal squares, of which the middle one was to be cultivated in common for the benefit of the state. He is said, likewise, to have invented the mode of noting the cycle of sixty years, the foundation of the very curious Chinese system of chronology. Other emperors of this semi-fabulous period are celebrated for their skill in astronomy and chronological computations.

Among the wonderful inventions which there is every reason to believe originated in China, is that of the mariner's compass, which, according to an old tradition, was invented by the same Hoang-ty, to guide him through the forests when hunting. This story may be, and most probably is, an utter fiction; but it forms a reasonable ground for supposing that the powers of the magnet were originally discovered by the Chinese, ages before the Christian era. It appears, however, from modern research, that although the attractive power of the loadstone has been known to the Chinese from remote antiquity, its property of communicating polarity to iron is for the first time explicitly noticed in a Chinese dictionary, which was finished in the first quarter of the second century of the Christian era. The Arabs borrowed the invaluable invention from the Chinese, with whom they then traded, and we Europeans borrowed it from the Arabs during the early Crusades; for it is now universally admitted that Gioia of Amalfi was only the introducer, and not the inventor of the magnetic needle.

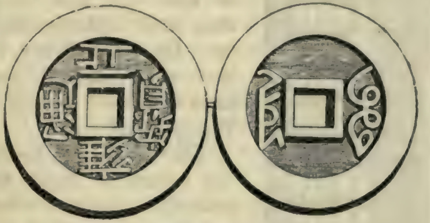
The last two emperors of the line of Fohi are celebrated under the names of Yaou and Shun, as the wisest and best of princes, and have always been held up as bright examples to all Chinese sovereigns. They are reckoned among the sages of China, and to them are attributed most of the political institutions by which the country is even now governed. About this time it is mentioned that the lands were flooded. It was then that Yaou the Great, one of the ministers of Shun, distinguished himself by draining the lands, which by his means were again rendered fit for cultivation; and for this eminent service, added to his wisdom and numerous good qualities, he was appointed by the emperor to succeed him on the throne, according to the laws of China, by which the reigning sovereign chose his successor. Yaou, to promote Shun, set aside his own son. Even at the present day, the choice of the emperor regulates the succession to the throne, and it is seldom that the eldest son succeeds in preference to the rest. By this time the empire was extended over all the northern provinces, as far as the Yang-tse-kiang river, not by conquest, but by the establishment of new colonies as the population increased. The monarchs, from time to time, bestowed the government of these new settlements on their relatives, so that there arose, by degrees, a number of petty kingdoms, each having its own sovereign, who was dependent on the emperor. Of the southern part of the country very little was then known, but it is supposed it had but few inhabitants, and that these were in a state of barbarism.

Time rolled on without producing any material change, so that after a lapse of many ages the only difference appears to have been, that the country had become more populous and the people more civilised than in earlier times. The emperors, who succeeded each other without interruption, employed sages to record the principal events that occurred during their several reigns; but in these early annals so much fable is blended with the truth, that they cannot be relied on, and it is supposed that the earliest *authentic* history relating to the Chinese empire is contained in the works of Confucius, who was born in China about 550 years before the Christian era, and who was one of the most illustrious characters that ever appeared in that country. The greatest of our modern authorities, Sir John F. Davis, says decidedly, "The Chinese have no existing records older than the compilations of Confucius, who was nearly contemporary with Herodotus, the father of Grecian history, and to whom Pope has given a very lofty niche in his 'Temple of Fame:'—

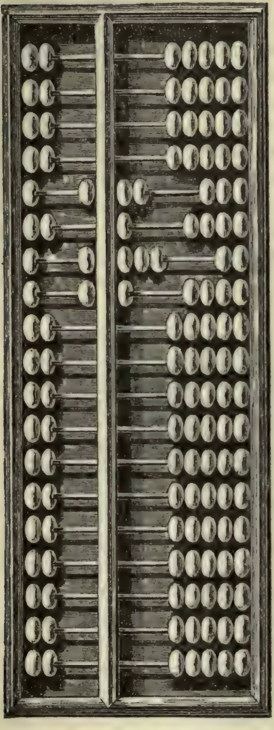
'Superior and alone Confucius stood,
Who taught that useful science—to be good.'"

The monarchy had probably then made great progress in civilisation. The people lived under a regular form of government, were skilled in agriculture, and were acquainted with many useful and elegant arts. The government was despotic, and the northern part of the country was still divided into the several small principalities which had been granted by the emperors at different times to their sons and brothers, who constituted the only hereditary nobility of the state, and were all tributary to the chief sovereign. Each of these petty states contained a city, where the prince resided, and all around it were numerous villages and detached dwellings, inhabited by the peasantry, who held small farms, which they cultivated for their own advantage, growing rice and vegetables in abundance, so that every poor man could support his family by his own industry. They were not held in bondage by the great, like the peasantry of Europe during the feudal ages; and amongst other privileges which they enjoyed were these:—A ninth part of the land was in common amongst them for pasturage and farming, and all the poor were at liberty to fish in the ponds and lakes—a right that was denied to the lower orders in feudal countries, where the mass of the people were vassals and slaves. The peasants of China, therefore, appear to have been at that period in a better condition than those of any other part of the world, working for themselves, and paying taxes to their respective princes, who by that means raised the tribute which the emperor claimed of them.

At the time of Confucius all taxes and tribute were paid as they are at present, chiefly in kind; but it is supposed there was always some sort of coined money current among the Chinese; and that at a very early period of the monarchy they had coins of gold and silver, as well as of lead, iron, and copper: but many ages have elapsed since any other than copper money has been in use among them. A very usual medium of exchange was silver beaten out into thin sheets, or cast in small bars, the buyer cutting off so much as was required to pay for his purchase, which was weighed by the merchant, who was always provided with a small pair of scales for that purpose. Their reckonings were, and still are, made by means of a machine (the Chinese abacus), which is still in use for buying and selling, and answers all the purposes of numerical figures. It consists of a number of little balls of various colours, strung upon wires fixed in a box and divided into compartments; the balls in one division being units, in another fives; and with these they add up and multiply with as much facility as we do by the aid of figures. This is the Chinese system of arithmetic, and has been so long practised that its invention is attributed to the emperor who succeeded the "Divine Husbandman," and the same who is said to have found his way through the



Copper Coin.



forests by means of the compass. Their arithmetic, as well as their weights and measures, proceed universally on the decimal scale; and decimal fractions are their *vulgar* fractions, or those in common use. It is remarkable that the single exception to this consists in their *kin*, or marketing pound-weight, which, like ours, is divided into sixteen ounces or parts. The Chinese had and have no algebraic knowledge. In the science of numbers, and in geometry, they never had anything to teach us. On the contrary, within the last two hundred years they have borrowed largely from the Europeans.*

There were public markets in the towns, to which the people generally resorted about noon; and there were shops also, where the artizans pursued their various callings, and sold, or exchanged with the farmers, the produce of their labours for rice and other commodities of which they stood in need. Beyond the cultivated lands were pastures for sheep; and the rest of the country generally consisted of extensive forests, inhabited by tigers and other beasts of prey, which were so destructive, especially among the flocks, that great hunting-parties were made every spring for the purpose of destroying them; and this dangerous sport seems to have been the favourite amusement of the sovereigns and great men of the land.

For a long series of years, trade, even with foreign nations, appears to have been remarkably free. The markets of China were the resorts of foreign merchants before the Romans invaded Britain, and her ports were annually visited by great squadrons of commercial vessels from the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, Ceylon, the Malabar Coast, and the coast of Coromandel.

---

* Sir John F. Davis.

The principal weapons used both in war and hunting were bows and arrows, consequently the practice of archery was a constant and favourite sport of the great, and there were particular rules by which it was conducted; as, for example, the imperial target was the skin of a bear, while that of a stag was set up as a mark for a prince to aim at, and of a tiger for the grandees of the court. Yet the Chinese were never distinguished as a martial nation, holding literature, as they did husbandry, in far higher estimation than military achievements: regarding the man who distinguished himself by his literary attainments beyond him who gained renown by his warlike exploits; and the husbandman who laboured in the field as a better member of society than the soldier who fought in it. Yet the petty princes were frequently at war with each other, so that the whole of the empire was seldom quite at peace.

The education of youth was considered of so much importance, that every district was obliged by law to maintain a public school, where boys were sent at eight years of age to be instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and their several duties to parents, teachers, elders, and magistrates, as well as to their equals and inferiors. They were also taught to commit to memory a great number of wise maxims and moral sentences contained in the writings of the ancient sages; and many of their lessons were in verse, that they might be the more readily learned and remembered. A new school was always opened with much ceremony, in the presence of the chief magistrate, who delivered a discourse to the boys, exhorting them to be diligent and submissive to the master, and setting forth the advantages of learning, which has been, in every age, the only road to wealth and honours in China. At fifteen, those who had most distinguished themselves were sent to higher schools, where public lectures were given by learned professors on the laws and government of the empire, and such subjects as were best calculated to fit them for offices of state, to which those who attended these schools usually aspired, but which were never bestowed on any but such as had studied profoundly, and given proofs of their knowledge. Subordination, passive submission to the law, to parents, and to all superiors, and a peaceful demeanour, were strictly inculcated. This instruction has continued unchanged. "The Chinese," says a modern writer, "teach contempt of the rude, instead of fighting with them; and the man who unreasonably insults another has public opinion against him; whilst he who bears and despises the affront is esteemed . . . . . A Chinese would stand and reason with a man, when an Englishman would knock him down, or an Italian stab him. It is needless to say which is the more rational mode of proceeding." But, on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that this training and these habits have deprived the Chinese of valour and military virtue.

Among the arts that are held in high estimation among the Chinese is that of writing, which was known at so distant a period of their history that it must have been one of their earliest steps in civilisation. This art, as practised in China, may perhaps be rather difficult of attainment, on account of the number and not very simple formation of the characters; yet it was rare to meet even with a poor peasant who could not read and write, for rich and poor were all educated alike, in the manner just described, which is mentioned as "*the ancient system*" in books that were written more than two thousand years ago.

The general occupation of the females of China, from the empress to the wife of the meanest peasant, was the spinning and weaving of silk; which material, from the earliest times known, was used for clothing by the poor as well as by the rich, for the same reason that wool was used by the ancient English—because it was the material of which they had the greatest abundance. It is therefore no proof of superior wealth or grandeur that the peasantry of China wore silk garments, but merely a simple evidence of the fact that silk was the staple commodity of their country, as wool was of ours. "When the King of France," says Barrow, "introduced the luxury of silk stockings, the peasantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in silks from head to foot; and when the nobility of England were sleeping on straw, a peasant of China had his mat and his pillow, and the man in office enjoyed his silken mattress."

The empresses of those days were as zealous in promoting the branches of industry adapted for females by their own example, as were the emperors in encouraging agriculture by similar means. A plantation of mulberry-trees was formed within the gardens of the palace, and a house built purposely for rearing the worms, which were tended by the ladies of the court, and often fed by the fair hands of royalty. Every autumn a festival was held to commemorate the invention of silk-weaving, when the empress, attended by the princesses and ladies of her train, made sacrifices in the temple of the earth, and then proceeded to her mulberry-grove, where she gathered leaves and wound the cocoons of silk, which were afterwards spun and woven by her own hands into small webs. These were carefully preserved for the grand spring festival, when they were burned in sacrifice.

Great attention was bestowed on the management of silk-worms throughout the whole of the empire; and as it had been discovered that those which were fed on mulberry leaves produced a finer kind of silk than the wild worms of the forest, a law was made by one of the early emperors that every man possessing an estate of not less than five acres should plant the boundary with mulberry-trees.

The difference between the garments of the higher and lower orders consisted in the quality and colours of the silks of which they were composed, and the fashion in which they were made. The robes of the grandees were often richly embroidered with gold and silver, and ornamented with various devices, according to their rank and occupation. As instances of these distinctive marks, the dress of a literary man was ornamented by a bird worked on a square of black silk on the back; while that of a military chief was adorned with the figure of a tiger, or some other savage animal; and these are among the innumerable customs that have been continued from that time to the present.

The wars among the princes, and the efforts of some of them to render themselves independent of the emperor, led to a vast deal of disorderly conduct in the several states, each petty sovereign being more intent upon his own aggrandisement than on keeping good order among his people, who, finding that the affairs of government were neglected, and the laws seldom enforced, paid very little attention to them. Such was the state of the Chinese empire when the celebrated philosopher, Confucius, was born in the kingdom of Loo, one of the small sovereignties in the north of China. This event occurred when the ancient Greek republics were in all their glory, and Rome was just beginning to rise into power and greatness. The Greeks and Romans, however, knew little or nothing of China, nor did the Chinese imagine there was any truly great empire in the world besides their own: an opinion they have maintained even until our own days.

CONFUCIUS.

Kungfutse, or, as the Catholic missionaries have Latinised it, Confucius, was born between five and six hundred years before our Saviour appeared on earth, being contemporary with Solon, the lawgiver of Athens. He was the only son of a lady of illustrious family, if not of royal rank. His father, who had several other sons by another wife, held a high government employment, but dying some three years after his birth, seems to have left the future philosopher very indifferently provided for. According to the Jesuit Du Halde, he was born in the province of Canton, where he grew up, and where, in his nineteenth year, he married. Mr. Gutzlaff, the Protestant missionary, condemns him for having divorced his wife after she had borne him a son; but the Catholic missionary excuses this part of his conduct by saying, it was "in order that he might attend to his studies with greater application." As it is particularly mentioned by Chinese writers that he had only one wife, it has been inferred that in his time the laws of China permitted the practice of polygamy. This fact may also be assumed from the degraded condition in which females were held, and from the very little respect paid to them by the philosopher himself. The Chinese tell marvellous stories of his love of study when a child, and of his early proficiency. They also record a little fact which may interest our phrenologists, viz. that Confucius' head was remarkable for the elevation of its crown.

His object in acquiring knowledge was to turn it to the purposes of moral reform and good government. When he thought himself sufficiently qualified to instruct the age in which he lived, he quitted his solitude for populous cities and the courts of princes and rulers. China was not then united and governed by one emperor, as now. When Confucius began his mission, it should seem that there were a good many more independent kings in China than existed in England in the time of the Saxon heptarchy. From the vast extent of the country, however, each of these divisions was in all probability larger than all England put together. The Chinese were not then more pacific than the rest of mankind. King warred against king, and every part of the Celestial empire was in its turn deluged with blood. Not long before the birth of the philosophical reformer, the horrors of internal war had been increased by some of the belligerents calling in the foreign aid of the Tartars, but at the period when he commenced his travels a powerful international confederacy had been formed, and China was comparatively tranquil.

He made a progress through the different states, giving public lectures on the benefit of virtue and social order; which produced such good effects, that in a short time he was at the head of about three thousand disciples, who were converts to his doctrines, and practised the rules he laid down for their conduct. His fame increased with his years. He now visited the different princes, and endeavoured to prevail upon them to establish a wise and peaceful administration in their respective territories. His wisdom and birth recommended him to the patronage of the kings; he was anxious to apply his theory to practical government, but he had to learn by sad experience that his designs must frequently be thwarted. After many changes and disappointments, he became prime minister in his native country Loo, when fifty-five-years of age. By his influence and his prudent measures the state of the kingdom underwent a thorough change within the space of three years.* It is said, that while he continued in power justice was so well administered, that if gold or jewels were dropped on the highway they would remain untouched until the rightful owner appeared to claim them. But a similar story is told of Alfred the Great, Robert duke of Normandy, and others, and it may be considered as only a figurative mode of depicting the extreme good order that was preserved in the state. The prosperity created by the philosophic prime minister excited the jealousy of the neighbouring king of Tse, who resolved to take measures that might prevent Loo from becoming too powerful. After proper deliberation, instead of a *corps d'armée*, he despatched a *corps de ballet*, sending a number of dancing-girls to the court of his rival. The old king of Loo was presently captivated by those seductive posture-makers, who caused him to neglect the business of government and the counsels of Confucius. The philosopher pitted himself against the dancing-girls, and was beaten. He then offered as an alternative that the king should either dismiss him and retain them, or retain him and dismiss them. The king preferred the girls, and the philosopher and statesman went to seek employment elsewhere.

He was repulsed at three different courts to which he applied for office, in order that he might render the people happy; and after many other wanderings and disappointments, he went into the kingdom of Chin, where he lived in great misery. From Chin he went again to Loo, and vainly solicited to be re-employed in the government of that state. Meanwhile war had again broken out among the rival kingdoms. Not being able to rule, or to make people virtuous, peaceful, and happy, Confucius devoted himself entirely to philosophy, and the composition of those works which have rendered his name immortal, and the precepts of which, like those of the Koran of Mohammed, even to this day, regulate both the government and the religion of the state. The latter may be more properly termed a system of morality than a religion, as it is intended to inculcate the duties of men towards each other, rather than those which they owe to a superior being. The Confucians believe in one supreme Deity, and adore the earth as the mother of all things; but they have no particular form of worship, nor any regular priesthood; their religious rites consisting solely of sacrifices made in the temples on stated occasions, when the emperor officiates as high priest, and the chief mandarins of the court as his subordinates. The books of Confucius, which are studied by the Chinese as sacred volumes, teach them that the true principles of virtue and social order are, obedience to parents, elders, and rulers; and the acting towards others as they would wish that others should act towards them. In the works of this great moralist, the duties of the sovereign are as strictly laid down as those of his subjects; and while they are enjoined to obey him as a father, he is exhorted to take care of them as though they were his children. There was nothing new in this patriarchal system of government, which had existed from the very beginning of the monarchy; but it was brought into a more perfect form, and the mutual obligations of princes and people were more clearly defined, than they had ever been before. But it was not only on the government of the empire collectively that this celebrated teacher bestowed his attention; he also made laws for private families, founded on the same principle of obedience from the younger to the elder, and submission from the inferior to the superior. Indeed, all classes of persons, including even young children, were instructed in the duties of their several stations. Through his rigid principles, and firm, uncompromising practice of them, the philosopher gained many enemies. His life was more than once in danger, but he looked at death with a calm, philosophic eye. Mr. Gutzlaff has thus described the last scene of his life: — "When he was sick, he did not wish that any should pray for him, because he had himself prayed. Whilst approaching his end, he deeply deplored the wretched state of his country. His great regret was that his maxims were rejected. He exclaimed, 'I am no longer useful on earth; it is necessary that I should leave it.' Having said this, he died, in his seventy-third year. His sepulchre was erected on the banks of the Soo river, where some of his disciples, repairing to the spot, deplored the loss of their master."

---

* The Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, "Sketch of Chinese History, &c."

The envy and hatred of his contemporaries soon passed away, and his disciples succeeded in erecting Confucius and his philosophy as the great objects of national veneration. When the empire was amalgamated and peace restored, his works, which had largely contributed to that happy issue, were looked upon as of paramount authority, and to mutilate, or in any way to alter their sense, was held a crime deserving of condign punishment. Unfortunately, however, the obscurity of the language rendered alterations and mistakes of the sense numerous and inevitable. Though he had been left to conclude his life in poverty and neglect, the greatest honours and privileges were heaped upon his descendants, who still exist, and may be called the only hereditary nobility of China. In all the revolutions that have happened their privileges have been respected: every male of them is by birth a mandarin, and they are all exempted from the payment of taxes.

The writings of Confucius are chiefly on the subject of moral philosophy; but there are among them two books which may be considered historical, the one relating to his own, and the other to more ancient times. From the former is gathered all that is known of the state of the country at that period; but the latter is regarded more as traditionary than as historical, as it is supposed to be merely a collection and arrangement of the records kept at the courts of the early monarchs by their historians. This work is entitled the Shoo King, and there is another called the Shi King, containing all the ancient poems and songs of the country, which, it is recorded, used to be sung or recited before the emperors. It may, therefore, be imagined that there were bards among the Chinese in those olden times, who celebrated in verse the great and good actions of their heroes and sages. These traditional poems were collected and revised by Confucius, who formed them into a volume, which is still one of the standard works of the Chinese, and must be studied by all who aspire to preferment, as it forms the subject of a part of their examination, ere they can be admitted as candidates for any high office. The same great man formed into a code of laws all the ancient observances, both in public and private life, being of opinion that the preservation of order in a state depended much upon the outward forms of society in general. This code, which is called the "Book of Rites," entirely regulates and governs the manners and customs of the whole community, from the emperor to the most obscure of his subjects; and as it has maintained its influence from that time to the present, we may readily account for the little change which has taken place in the habits of the people. The study of this book constitutes an important branch of the education of every Chinese. Confucius spent the whole of his long life in the practice and teaching of virtue. Two thousand and nearly four hundred years have elapsed since his death, yet his name continues to be held in as much veneration as ever throughout the Chinese empire; and although he did not pretend to divine inspiration like Mohammed, or profess to be endowed with more than human attributes, he is worshipped as a superior being, and many temples are dedicated to him in all the provinces of China. In the time of Confucius another sect was founded in China, by a sage named Laou Keun, whose disciples assumed the title of Taou-tse, or "Doctors of Reason;" but their claim to this distinctive appellation appears doubtful, their principal studies being alchemy and the art of magic. From them emanated the absurd notion, which in former times was very prevalent in Europe, that a liquid might be prepared, the use of which would prolong human existence beyond its natural term; and also that an art might be discovered of turning inferior metals into gold: the former termed the elixir of life, the latter the philosopher's stone. The Taou-tse mingled religious rites with their pretended skill in magic, and were, in fact, the priests of their sect. They long possessed great influence in China, and were patronised by many of the emperors.

The Thibetan, the Buddhist, and other idolatries, have divided influence with the system of Confucius, but have never overthrown its empire. The superstitious and the vulgar (and they are, as they ever have been, of all classes, from the emperor on the throne to the poor mariner on board the junk) burn gilt paper and offer sacrifices to wooden idols, practise incantations, and offer up prayers to the invisible Mother of Heaven; but at the same time they revere the name of Confucius, and the more enlightened of the nation pretend to be wholly guided by his merely philosophical dictates. The mass of his laws and instructions is still followed to the letter by Chinese, Corean, Cochin-Chinese, and other people, who, taken collectively, will probably exceed 400,000,000 souls!

It was the great object of the Chinese philosopher strictly to regulate the *manners* of the people. He thought *outward decorum* the true emblem of *excellence of heart;* he therefore digested all the various ceremonies into one general code of rites, which was called Le-ke. In this work every ritual in all the relations of human life is strictly regulated, so that a true Chinese is a perfect automaton, put in motion by the regulations of the Le-ke. Some of the rites are most excellent; but his substituting mere ceremony for simplicity and true politeness has proved most mischievous.

If Christianity had nothing else in its favour than the elevation of the female condition and character, it ought to be revered as the purest and best of faiths. Confucius scarcely ranked women higher than did Mohammed, and other Eastern lawgivers that preceded or followed him. The worthy Protestant missionary, Gutzlaff, remarks,—"We regret to say that he treats women, and the duties of husbands towards their wives, very slightly. By not giving a proper rank in society to females, by denying to them the privileges which are their due, as sisters, mothers, wives, and daughters, the more sensitive and devoted part of our kind, he has marred the harmony of social life, and put a barrier against the improvement of society. The regeneration of China will, in fact, never take place, unless the females be raised from the degraded state which Confucius assigned to them."

There was, perhaps, something in the system of Confucius calculated to carry the Chinese to a certain pitch of learning and civilisation, but not an inch beyond or above it. After the fall of the Roman empire, and when all Europe was involved in the darkness of the middle ages, China might be considered as the greatest and most civilised kingdom upon earth. But, one by one, all the countries in the West awoke to a second dawn, and have continued pretty uniformly to improve ever since, whilst China has remained just where she was, or, if she have made any movement, it has been retrograde. There is not at this moment a single European kingdom but has gone far beyond the point at which the Chinese stopped as the bourn of perfection. The peculiarity and enormous difficulty of their written language, which almost requires a life's study to be perfectly mastered—the geographical situation of their country—the fact that, for many centuries, their neighbours, and the only people they had frequent intercourse with, were rude barbarians, that could suggest no improvement and no comparison except such as was most flattering to the Chinese, and calculated to make them remain perfectly satisfied with the state of excellence in civil polity, arts, and literature, at which they had arrived; —all these, and other causes, doubtless worked with the Confucian system in producing their bigoted attachment to things as they were, and in rendering the Chinese the greatest and most self-complacent *statu-quo*-ites in the world.

THE CHIN DYNASTY.

THE BUILDING OF THE GREAT WALL.

For three hundred years after the death of Confucius, the internal peace of China was incessantly disturbed by the wars and quarrels of the petty kings, whom the emperors were unable to keep in subjection, and who constantly refused to pay their tribute. At length there came to the throne a prince named Chi-hoang-ti, a great warrior, who resolved to put an end to these troubles by uniting all the small kingdoms into one monarchy. There was no difficulty in finding pretexts for invading the several states of the tributary kings, as scarcely a year passed but one or other of them rebelled against his authority. By degrees, however, he conquered them all, and after some years became master of the whole empire, about two hundred years before the Christian era; and was the first monarch of the dynasty called Tsin, or Chin. The chief government now began to assume the aspect of an *empire*, which comprehended all that half of modern China which lies to the north of the great *Keang* river. When Chi-hoang-ti had subdued all the petty princes, he turned his

arms against the Tartars, who had become very troublesome neighbours, making frequent hostile incursions into the Chinese territories. They were portions of the same people who, in European history, are called Huns. They consisted of numerous tribes, who wandered about the barren plains of Central Asia, living partly by hunting and partly by plunder; and as they were a much more warlike people than the Chinese, they were enemies very greatly to be dreaded. The emperor, therefore, devised a plan to keep off their invasions, by erecting a wall along the whole extent of the northern frontier, of such a height, thickness, and solidity, as to be proof against any attempts which might be made, either to scale or to effect a breach in it.

In order to obtain a sufficient number of workmen for so vast an undertaking as the building of the Great Wall, the emperor ordered that every third labouring man throughout the empire should be compelled to enter his service; and they were forced to labour like slaves, without receiving any compensation beyond a bare supply of food. The wall extended fifteen hundred miles from the sea to the most western province of Shensee. It was carried over the highest mountains, through the deepest valleys, and, by means of arches, across the rivers. Its breadth was sufficient to allow of six horsemen riding abreast on its summit, and it was fortified by strong towers, built at equal distances, of about one hundred yards, in which guards were stationed. The exterior was formed of stone and brickwork, of the most solid construction, which was filled in with earth, so as to render it impenetrable; and the whole was finished in the short space of five years.

Such is the account generally given of the Great Wall of China, which has now stood for two thousand years, and has been regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Lord Macartney exclaimed, on seeing it, that it was certainly the most stupendous work of human hands, and he rationally concluded that, at the remote period of its building, China must have been a very powerful and civilised empire. Doctor Johnson was accustomed to say of it, that it would be an honour to any man to be able to say that his grandfather had seen the Great Wall of China. Mr. Barrow, who saw it with

Lord Macartney, went into some amusing calculations as to the quantity of the materials it contains. According to his account, all the materials of all the dwelling-houses of England and Scotland, supposing them at that period (the end of the last century) to amount to 1,800,000, and to average 2000 cubic feet of brickwork or masonry, would be barely equivalent to the bulk of the wall, without taking in its fortresses and towers, which he calculated contained as much masonry and brickwork as all London did at that time. Stupendous as was the work, we shall presently see that it failed in its object.

Chi-hoang-ti, a title which literally signifies the First Emperor, seems to have been a prince who, in all things, was extremely ambitious of fame; for although he had rendered his name immortal by the stupendous work just described, he aspired to still higher renown, and even entertained the vain-glorious desire that his name should be handed down to posterity as the founder of the Chinese monarchy. But there was one great obstacle to the attainment of this end, which none but the veriest tyrant would have thought of removing; and that was the existence of a vast number of books, wherein might be read the histories of those who had reigned before him. The emperor, however, was one of those who would sacrifice everything which stands between them and the object on which they have set their hearts; therefore he issued a peremptory order, that all books and writings of every description should be collected and burned by the magistrates of each district throughout the whole empire; and the decree was so strictly enforced, that many literary men were put to death for being detected in an attempt to save some valuable records.

But the tyrant, whose mischievous ambition had tempted him to commit such an act of madness, missed the end he had in view; for, in spite of all his precautions, several copies of the works of Confucius, and some other eminent authors, were hidden behind the walls, and under the floors of different houses, where they remained until the death of the emperor rendered it safe to bring them again to light.

It is somewhere related of this same prince that, when dying, he commanded that his favourite wife and a number of slaves should be buried with him. This dreadful custom had existed in the barbarous ages, and was common among the Tartars and Hindus, not only at the death of princes, but also at those of all classes of the people, from a superstitious belief that the wives and domestics thus interred would pass with the deceased into the next world, and be ready to attend upon him there. With the same idea the Chinese used in later times to bury clothes, furniture, and even food, for the use of the departed, with a number of effigies in the likeness of slaves; and this harmless custom has been continued down to the present time, with this difference, that every article now sacrificed is made of paper; millions of bundles being consumed annually in these pious, but superstitious rites. The revolting practice of immolating human beings had, however, been so long out of date, that it is mentioned, in reference to this period, as a relic of the barbarism of distant ages.

Chi-hoang-ti appointed his eldest son to succeed him; a case of rare occurrence.

The custom of bestowing territories on the princes of the royal family was abolished by Chi-hoang-ti, who saw that these petty sovereignties were sure to occasion civil warfare. He therefore provided for his family by giving to each of his immediate male relatives a palace in one of the great cities, with a suitable maintenance, and the privilege of wearing yellow, which was then, as it is now, the imperial colour, and, as a distinctive mark of rank, is highly valued. A yellow girdle has a greater degree of importance in China than a blue ribbon in England. It is always a sign that the wearer is nearly related to the emperor. The prince chosen by Chi-hoang-ti as his successor happening to be absent at the time of his father's death, a younger son took advantage of the circumstance to seize on the sovereignty, and contrived to have his brother secretly strangled. But the usurper did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime, for he made himself so unpopular by neglecting the affairs of the state, and attending to nothing but his own pleasures, that a formidable insurrection broke out in the country, headed by the chief of a band of freebooters, named Liu-pang, a man distinguished by many noble qualities, although he was no better than a robber. It is related of this adventurer, that just after the breaking out of the rebellion he happened to meet a fortune-teller on the road, who, falling at his feet, said he offered him this mark of homage because he saw by the lines in his face that he was destined shortly to become emperor. In making this prediction, the soothsayer, no doubt, foresaw the probability of its accomplishment, for it was not an unlikely termination of the rebellion that the leader, if successful, should be placed on the throne: with this belief, therefore, the stranger followed up his prophecy by offering his only daughter in marriage to the chief. Liu-pang accepted the proposal, and married the lady, who was thus, by her father's artifice, raised to the dignity of empress; for, after many scenes of violence and bloodshed, in which the lawful emperor lost his life, the insurgents were victorious, and their leader was raised to the imperial throne.

THE HAN DYNASTY.

The new sovereign was a native of the kingdom of Han, one of those small states into which the empire had formerly been divided; therefore he is called the founder of the Han dynasty, and the princes of his race occupied the throne for more than four centuries. The first of the race obtained the sovereignty about 200 years before the Christian era, and commenced one of the most celebrated periods of Chinese history. In spite of the Great Wall the Tartars continued their predatory warfare, and sorely disquieted the more polished and peaceful Chinese, who vainly attempted to propitiate them with alliances and tribute. The first emperors of this race endeavoured to make friends of the great Tartar chiefs, by giving them their daughters in marriage. A native historian of the period exclaims,—"Our disgrace could not be exceeded: from this time China lost her honour!" In the reign of Yuenty, the ninth emperor, the Tartars having been provoked by the punishment inflicted by the Chinese on two of their chiefs, who had transgressed the boundaries of the Great Wall while engaged in hunting, the empire was again invaded by the "erratic nations," and a princess was demanded, and yielded, in marriage. These incidents form the subject of one of the hundred plays of Yuen, an English version of which has been printed in London by the Oriental Translation Committee, under the name of the "Sorrows of Han." The impolitic system of buying off the barbarians, which commenced thus early, led many centuries afterwards to the total overthrow of the empire by the Tartars.*

During this period, however, the Chinese made considerable advances in civilisation. The arts and sciences were improved, literature was encouraged, agriculture was in a progressive state, and several useful inventions date their origin from the same era. Among the latter, one of the most important is the manufacture of paper, which is supposed to have been commenced towards the end of the first century. The Egyptians had long possessed the art of making paper from the rush called papyrus, which was also used at Rome for the same purpose in the first century; but whether the Chinese obtained their knowledge from either Rome or Egypt, or whether the discovery was their own, is uncertain. Before they were acquainted with this useful art they were accustomed to write on thin slips of bamboo, not with ink, but with pointed tools, similar to those used by engravers, with which they cut or engraved the characters. The bamboo is a gigantic species of reed or cane, that grows as high as a large tree, and is used in China for an infinitude of purposes; as for the building of houses and boats, and the manufacture of furniture, hats, mats, sails, ropes, boxes, and toys of various kinds; and although it is extremely light, it is very strong and durable.† Books were formed of bamboo by taking off the outside bark, and cutting it into thin sheets, all of the same shape and size, which, after the writing was finished, were strung together in such a manner as to form a compact, though rather clumsy volume. At length, about the year of our era 95, it was ascertained, by what means does not appear, that bamboo might be made into a better material for writing upon than it furnished in its natural state, by pounding it in a mortar with water until it became a thin paste, which, being spread out on a flat surface, was dried into what we call paper. The earliest specimens of this new art in China were probably of a very rough description, but the manufacture was gradually improved by the mixture of silk and other materials, until the Chinese were able to produce a paper of the most beautiful texture, adapted for printing, which we now call India paper, and another kind for painting, known by the name of rice paper.

---

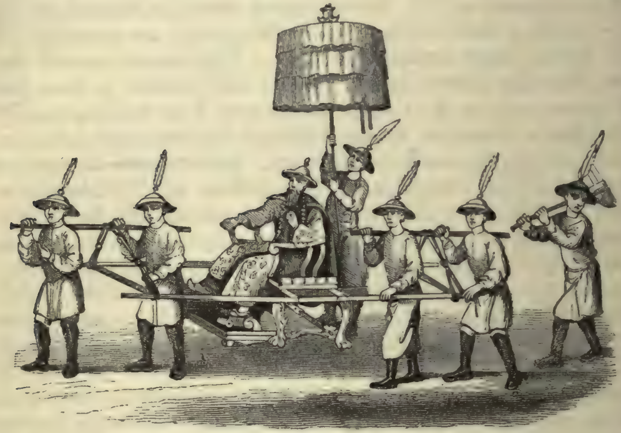
* Sir John F. Davis, "The Chinese."

† Van Braam, in his account of a Dutch embassy to Peking, says "scarcely anything is to be found in China, either upon land or water, in the composition of which bamboo does not enter, or to the utility of which it does not conduce."

The history of paper, as we now possess it in Europe, is curious. The Tartars borrowed the art from their neighbours, substituting *cotton*, which abounded in their country, for the bamboo. At the commencement of the eighth century, when the conquests of the Arabs carried them to Samarkand, in the heart of the Scythian wilds, they found the manufacture of cotton paper established there. The Arabs learned the art from the Tartars, as the Tartars had learned it from the Chinese, and in their turn substituted *linen* for cotton. To the Arabs, therefore, we are indebted for the inestimable article, or paper, made from linen; but whether the art of making it was introduced by the Italians of Venice, Gaeta, and Amalfi, who, during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, kept up a constant commercial intercourse with Syria and Egypt, or whether the Saracens (Arabs under another name), who conquered Spain in the early part of the eighth century, made known the manufacture in that country, has not, as yet, been clearly ascertained. Mr. Mills reasonably supposes that the flourishing linen manufactories at Valencia suggested the idea of the substitution of linen for cotton in that part of Europe, as the cotton manufactories at Samarkand induced the Tartars to employ cotton instead of bamboo.

The invention of paper naturally leads to that of ink, which in China is always made in those cakes known by us under the name of Indian ink; and is used with the camel's-hair pencils for writing by the Chinese, who do not require such pens as ours in the formation of their hieroglyphical characters.

Most of the princes of the Han dynasty were munificent patrons of learning; they bestowed the highest dignities on men of literary fame, and thus learning, as in earlier times, continued to be the only sure road to wealth and honours. Nobility was not hereditary, except in the imperial family, but depended entirely on personal merit; and as it was always bestowed by the emperor, so it could be taken away at his pleasure. Thus the nobles, or highest class of mandarins in China, are not necessarily persons of high birth, but are men of learning, who must have passed a public examination with credit before they can aspire to rank and office in the state. This peculiar constitution of the government of China, which has continued down to the present time, is one means of keeping up its despotism, as it prevents the rise of a powerful aristocracy, which has never yet failed to prove a dangerous foe to an absolute monarchy.



Under the Han dynasty lands were, for the first time, frequently bestowed on men of rank, with people to cultivate them, who were bound to the soil, and who were, to a certain extent, slaves : but it is not very clear how far the authority of their masters extended ; how large a proportion of the peasantry was thus held in vassalage ; or how long the system continued.

About this time, the religion of Buddha was introduced into China from India, where it was then a prevailing faith. The sect of the Buddhists is supposed to have been founded before the birth of Confucius, by an Indian sage of royal birth.

The name of the illustrious sage was Buddha; and one of the leading features of his spiritual doctrines was the

Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls; according to which doctrine, the Buddhists believe that the soul quits one corporeal frame to animate another, not necessarily of the human species; and for that reason a Buddhist is forbidden, by the laws of his creed, to destroy animal life in any shape. When Buddha died, his followers believed that he was transformed into the god Fo, by which name he is also worshipped; and is said to have three different forms, which the priests represent in their temples by three great gilded idols, which they term the three precious Buddhas.

The Buddhist priesthood dwell together in communities in the manner of monks, subsisting chiefly upon alms, like the mendicant friars of the Catholic Church. The temples are their monasteries; and the pagodas, of which so many are seen in different parts of China, were first erected in that country by the priests of Buddha, to whose worship they belong. The head of this religion, who holds the same rank among the votaries of Buddhism as the Pope does among those of the Catholic Church, is called the Grand Lama. He resides with much state in Thibet, and is supposed to be immortal; for when he dies, it is given out that his soul has passed into the body of some infant, whom the priests pretend to identify by certain signs, and who is brought up in the belief that the same spirit which animated the form of his predecessor exists within himself. Thus the office of Grand Lama always commences with infancy, and lasts till the close of life. There are a great many female devotees belonging to this faith, who live like nuns secluded from the world, and never marry; but they are not so numerous in China as in Thibet, Japan, and Tartary. The Buddhists have five prohibitory commandments, which they strictly observe. These are, "Not to destroy animal life; nót to steal; not to speak falsely; not to drink wine; and to the priests, or bonzes, not to marry." Their belief as to their final state is, that after having passed through a certain term of probation upon this earth under various forms, they shall at length be received into the paradise of Buddha, and partake of his divine nature. Some of the Chinese sovereigns adopted this faith, while others encouraged the sect of Taou, and among the latter was Han-ou-ti, one of the early emperors of the Han dynasty, a prince who was famed for many virtues, but was strongly addicted to a belief in magic, and maintained a number of the Taou-tse at his court, who were constantly engaged in studies which he was credulous enough to believe would lead at last to the discovery of the elixir of life, a draught of which he was extremely anxious to taste. In this hope he was continually supplying the sages with large sums of money, to enable them to procure the rare ingredients for making the wonderful liquid; some of which they pretended were hidden in remote corners of the earth, and only to be obtained with great difficulty, and by the aid of magic.

In vain did the ministers remonstrate with him on the folly of squandering the public money in such idle pursuits. He turned a deaf ear to their exhortations, and gave his whole attention to the Taou-tse and their experiments. At length it was announced that the coveted draught was really prepared, and the chief of the sages was deputed to convey it in a golden cup to his royal patron; when, in crossing the great hall of the palace, one of the ministers, feigning a desire to look closely at so miraculous a compound, suddenly snatched the cup from the hands of the astonished priest, and drank off its contents. The enraged and disappointed emperor ordered that the offender should instantly lose his head; a consequence that had been foreseen by the daring courtier, who had provided himself with a very clever defence. "O most mighty prince!" said he, "how is it possible for thy commands to deprive me of life, if the potion I have just swallowed has really the power ascribed to it? Then make the trial; I willingly submit to the test: but remember, that if I die, thy system must be a false one, and in that case my poor life will have been well bestowed in convincing my prince of his error." The monarch pondered on these words for a few moments, and then pardoned the offender; not so much, perhaps from motives of clemency, as from reluctance to be undeceived, or to let the world into the secret of his credulity: so that it is evident he began to waver in the faith he had professed. The Taou-tse were engaged in other researches no less chimerical than that of finding means o prolonging human life beyond its natural term, and many o them spent the greater part of their lives in the search afte the philosopher's stone. Yet we need not wonder at th folly and credulity of the Chinese princes in bestowing atten tion on such fruitless speculations so early as the first century, when we find the most profound scholars of Europe, thirteen hundred years later, engaged in the same visionary pursuits; and may read of one of the German emperors, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, neglecting the affairs of the state to shut himself up with the alchymists whom he maintained at his court, assisting them in their experiments, and expecting that they would at length discover the two great secrets which would bestow on him the gifts of endless life and inexhaustible riches.

Towards the close of the second century the power of the Han dynasty began to decline. Some of the princes were weak, others wicked; the eunuchs of the palace fomented discord; and at length a formidable insurrection broke out, called "The Revolt of the Yellow Caps;" a cap of that colour being the badge of the disaffected party, whose object was to depose the reigning family and place some warlike chieftain on the throne.

Hoty, the seventeenth emperor of the race of Han, is said to have had considerable intercourse with the nations to the west of China. It is even recorded that one of his envoys went as far as Arabia. It is certain that eunuchs, who afterwards became astonishingly numerous in China, and the cause of infinite intrigue, malice, wickedness, confusion, and revolt, were first introduced during this reign, and it may be inferred that Hoty borrowed them from western Asia, at the close of the first century of the Christian era.*

The troubles occasioned by the Yellow Caps led to several usurpations of the imperial dignity, and opened a new field of ambition to the kings of Ou and Shensee, who boldly asserted their claims to the throne. A fierce contest ensued, which lasted forty-three years, and is celebrated in Chinese history under the title of "The War of the Three Kingdoms." It would be vain to seek for any rational account of the events that marked this unhappy period of civil warfare. It was the Chinese age of chivalry, and each chief was exalted into a wonderful hero by the writers of the time, who blended so much romance with history, that nothing certain can be gathered from their works beyond the fact that the country was divided into three separate states, the sovereigns of which were at war with each other for nearly half a century.

---

* Sir J. F. Davis, "The Chinese."

The period of the "Three States," into which the country was divided about A.D. 184, is a favourite subject of the historical plays and romances of the Chinese. A work, designated by the above name, is much prized and very popular among them, and a manuscript translation of it in Latin, by one of the Catholic missionaries, exists in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Extracts from it might be made interesting, but the whole is perhaps too voluminous to bear an English translation in print. It is, however, as little stuffed with extravagancies as could be expected from an Oriental history, and, except that it is in prose, bears a resemblance in some of its features to the Iliad, especially in what Lord Chesterfield calls 'the porter-like language' of the heroes. These heroes excel all moderns in strength and prowess, and make exchanges after the fashion of Glaucus and Diomed, Hector and Ajax. One shows his liberality in horses, another in a weight of silver, or *iron*—

> 'And steel well-tempered, and refulgent gold.'

Society seems to have been in much the same state, split into something like feudal principalities, hanging loosely together under the questionable authority of one head.*

At length there appeared among the competitors for the imperial throne a prince who was descended from a branch of the family of the famous Chi-hoang-ti, the builder o the Great Wall, and for him was reserved the glory of putting an end to the war, and reuniting the three states unde one sceptre. He assumed the title of emperor, establishe the capital in Honan, and commenced the dynasty called *Tsin* A.D. 260.

It is rather a curious coincidence, that two princes of th same race, at the distance of five hundred years, should hav established their empire under much the same circumstance by subduing and uniting the petty states into which th country had, in consequence of the weakness of the gover ment, become divided. The new dynasty ruled over Chin somewhat more than a century and a half, during which period fifteen sovereigns succeeded each other on the throne.

---

* Sir J. F. Davis.

Warned by the destructions which had arisen from the interference and intrigues of women and eunuchs, the new sovereign of the race of Tsin passed a kind of Salic law, declaring that " women should not reign, nor take any part in public matters." The Chinese historian of the period says, that this was a good law, and worthy of being an example. It was, however, soon abrogated in practice. Under weak emperors the women resumed their influence, and the mischievous eunuchs were greatly increased in number. This first emperor is said to have had political relations with a province of Sogdiana, and to have even received a Roman embassy.

The War of the Three Kingdoms furnished the Chinese authors with abundant materials; and this was a golden age of literature in China, where talent had been honoured and rewarded during the whole period of the Han dynasty, and the literati, as before observed, formed the highest class of the community.

Next to them, in point of consideration, were still held the agriculturists; husbandry being, in fact, of much more importance than commerce to a people, whose remote position on the globe, ere navigation had brought them into contact with distant nations, rendered them wholly dependent on their own resources for subsistence: therefore the wise sovereigns of China endeavoured to promote agriculture, by rendering it the most honourable of all pursuits, except that of learning. Ou-ti, the fifth emperor of the Han, restored the annual spring festival, which seems to have been neglected during the War of the Three Kingdoms, but was revived by this prince to keep up a remembrance of the high estimation in which field labour was anciently held; and it has ever since been regularly celebrated, except when war has occasioned a temporary interruption of all customary rites.

Cotton was then only known as the produce of a rare and curious plant in the gardens of the great, nor was it cultivated to any extent till many centuries later; but it is now produced in great abundance, and has long superseded silk as clothing for the generality of the people. The population of the country had so considerably increased, that it had been found necessary to clear and cultivate much of the forest land, that a sufficiency of food might be raised for the people, who lived chiefly on rice. The peasantry were exceedingly industrious, the women and children working in the fields as well as the men ; and as the farms on which they laboured were in most cases their own, they had the greater motives for exertion.

Many people, at this period, were employed in rearing horses for war, and most of the farmers grazed cattle on the commons ; but this kind of farming was gradually discontinued as the necessity of bringing the public land under culture increased, till at length there were very few commons or pastures left: cattle became scarce, and sheep were only to be found in the mountainous districts. The country people lived together in clans, all the members of a family joining their property to form a common stock, which enabled them to live much better than if they had been divided. It was, therefore, customary for a son to bring his wife home to his father's house, where she was expected to submit entirely to the authority of her mother-in-law, whose province it was, as elder matron, to rule over the female part of the household ; and if this part of the domination was not always exercised in the most gentle manner possible, it was no less the duty of the daughters-in-law to yield implicit obedience. Hence, perhaps, arose the custom prevalent among Chinese maidens, when any one of their young friends is about to marry, of going to sit and weep with her before she leaves her parental home to take up her abode with strangers. The birth of a son was always celebrated with great rejoicings, but that of a daughter was considered as rather a misfortune than otherwise, especially if the parents were poor: for a girl could in no way advance the fortunes of her family, whereas a boy always had the chance, at least, by applying himself to learning, of attaining high honours; and in that case his parents were sure to be exalted also, as a reward for the attention they had bestowed on his education, which was regarded as a benefit to the State; and if even he were not gifted with extraordinary talents, he was looked up to for future support, as every young man was obliged by law to maintain his aged parents, and taught by his religion that it was one of his most sacred

obligations so to do. This point of filial duty was held in so much importance by the government, that a law was made which enacted that the life of a criminal, who would otherwise be condemned to death, should be spared, provided his parents were old, and had no other son or grandson above the age of sixteen to work for them.

A boy had several names given to him at different periods of his life. The first was bestowed soon after his birth by his father, who, having assembled all his relatives, took the infant in his arms, and pronounced its name with numerous prayers and ceremonies; the next name was conferred on the boy's first entrance into school by the master, and was called "the book-name;" the third appellation was assumed at his marriage, when, if he were the eldest son, the father also added another syllable to his own name: all which alterations, one would suppose, must at times have created some confusion, and must do so still; for these customs are even to this day continued, as well as a law that was instituted about this time, prohibiting any person from marrying one of the same surname, even though the parties were not related to each other.

In ancient times, the law of primogeniture existed among the Chinese, and remained in force until the reign of the Emperor Ou-ti, who abolished it, and instituted a new one, by which, on the death of a father, his lands were divided among all his male children; the only difference being that the eldest had two portions. The right to this double portion still exists. A daughter had no inheritance, neither did she receive any marriage-portion from her parents. On the contrary, she was in a manner bought of them by her future husband or his friends, who sent presents according to their means, as was the custom as far back as in that primitive age when Abraham sent his steward to seek a wife for his son Isaac, who took with him jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment, which he presented to Rebekah and her friends on his asking the damsel as a bride for his young master. As daughters and wives, the women of China were not held in much consideration; but as mothers, they were treated with the utmost respect, especially by their sons, who, even when themselves advanced in years, paid great deference to the commands and counsels of an aged mother.

Among the most sacred rites observed by the Chinese was that of visiting the tombs of their departed relatives twice a-year, to make sacrifices, sweep the tombstones, and clear away any weeds that had grown near them. The burial-places are always at some distance from the towns, and very generally on the side of a hill, which is cut into terraces one above another, covered with monuments of the dead. The coffins are not put into the ground, but laid upon it, and covered with a tomb, which is more or less handsome, according to the circumstances of the relatives, some being only mounds of earth, while others are of stone, having in front a slab of black marble, bearing an inscription in letters of gold; and they present altogether a picturesque appearance amid the trees and shrubs which are planted about them. When the time arrives for the performance of the commemorative rites, all the male population of the town or village, both men and children, repair to the place of interment, carrying with them wine and meats, sticks of incense, and paper offerings, to burn at the tombs, which they sweep very carefully before they make their sacrifices; and at the conclusion of the ceremonies each individual sets up a long streamer of white or crimson paper, which is fastened to a stick fixed in the ground, as a token that he has performed his duties to his deceased kindred: for these usages, which are of great antiquity, are considered so important, that any one who should neglect them would be looked upon as unworthy of the favour of the gods. The veneration of the Chinese for these observances is one great reason why they are reluctant to remove from the place of their birth, at least to any distance that would prevent them from paying their periodical visits to the tombs of their relatives; and however unnecessary the custom may appear to us, yet it springs from a feeling so admirable, that it cannot fail to be respected. The rites to the dead are always concluded with feasting and merry-making, for it is considered rather a joyful than a mournful occasion, as the visitors believe that they are holding communion with their departed friends, and ministering to their wants by offerings of food and raiment.

Every rich family in China has a temple, or large building, called the Hall of Ancestors, in which are placed tablets of stone or wood, bearing the names and ages of all deceased relatives, with the dates of the days on which they died, and the occupation each had followed in this world. Here, at certain times of the year, all the male members of the family assemble to show their respect for the memory of the deceased by prostrating themselves, and placing wine, meat, and incense, before the tablets. Those who cannot afford to have a distinct building for this purpose, hang up the memorials in some room of their house, which they call their Hall of Ancestors, and where they perform the customary ceremonies. There is, in fact, no country in the world where so much respect is paid to the memory of the dead, or where they are held so long in remembrance. A son would sometimes keep the body of a parent in his house for years, enclosed in a varnished coffin, usually very richly ornamented, which was placed in the best apartment, and on all particular occasions candles were lighted, and incense was burnt before it; the room being hung with white, which is the colour appropriated by the Chinese for mourning, and is worn as such by all classes of people. Some wore dull grey, or ash colour; but the deepest mourning was an outer garment of sackcloth, with a cap of the same, every other part of the dress being white. At this period, the male part of the community did not disfigure themselves by shaving their heads, as they do now; but suffered the hair to grow very long and thick, and fastened it in a knot at the top of the head. The male attire was long and flowing, with loose sleeves; and in the winter, men of rank wore costly furs: but the winter dresses of the poor were made of sheepskin. As to the ladies, it does not appear that they have once altered the

fashion of their dress from that time to this. Their costume is not altogether unbecoming. It consists in a full robe gathered into a narrow band round the throat, from which it hangs in graceful folds, unconfined at the waist, while the large falling sleeves almost touch the ground. The most striking difference in the appearance of the gentlemen of ancient and modern times relates to the head; that of the ladies to the feet, which were then suffered to grow to the natural size, and were not distorted and squeezed into shoes only four inches long, as they are at present.

It is doubtful whether tea was in use among the Chinese so early as the Han dynasty; and, in fact, not much is known respecting their domestic habits at that period, as the country was inaccessible to strangers, and very few of the books then written have been translated into any European language. But in the ordinary affairs of life they were much governed by superstition, putting implicit faith in omens, dreams, and spells innumerable. A belief in astrology was universal, and charms and talismans were frequently resorted to even by the most learned men of the age, by the power of which they hoped to avert an impending evil. One of these popular superstitions was exemplified in a singular manner during the War of the Three Kingdoms, by a chief named Kung Ming, who was a great astrologer, and very often consulted the stars on the subject of future events. One night, being thus engaged, he fancied he saw signs in the heavens predicting that his own death would take place in a few hours; but as he was not willing to die so soon, he lost no time in endeavouring to avert the fatal doom by means of a spell. He lighted a number of lamps in his tent, placing them in a particular order, corresponding with the position of the heavenly bodies at the time, and then composed a sort of prayer, which he continued to repeat incessantly as he sat on the ground before the lamps. But all was unavailing; for ere the sun arose he had breathed his last sigh, most probably in consequence of the excited state of mind produced by his own superstitious dread. The inefficacy of the charm was thus clearly proved, yet the superstition still remains, and many of the Chinese occasionally light lamps, and arrange them in correspondence with the position of the stars, in the full persuasion that a threatened misfortune may be thus averted.

Imperial Palace.

THE MIDDLE AGES IN CHINA.

THE ancient capital of the Chinese empire was Hang-chow-fou, a large, wealthy city, situated at no very great distance from Nanking, and containing an immense population, chiefly engaged in the manufacture of silk and cotton. The Imperial palace, standing in the midst of extensive gardens. was adorned with Eastern splendour, and near it were several magnificent temples, and many fine residences belonging to the grandees of the court. Like all the great cities of China, it was surrounded by a high wall, and covered an immense extent of ground; for as none of the buildings exceeded one story in height, they occupied the greater space: so that a Chinese town of six miles in circumference did not contain, perhaps, more houses than one not half the size in Europe. The first sovereign of the new dynasty of Tsin removed the seat of government to Kai-fong-fou, another large city, standing in the centre of the empire, in the province of Honan, one of the most fertile and beautiful parts of all China, and this was the royal residence until the reign of Ouenti, the fifth emperor of the line of Tsin, who built a very magnificent palace at Nanking, where the court was held with more splendour than had been exhibited by any of the former sovereigns.

There was an interval of repose which lasted some years, when a new invasion of the Tartars again spread terror and desolation throughout the western provinces. They were led by a barbarian prince, who laid claim to the empire on the ground of being descended from one of those princesses of the race of Han, who had married Tartar chieftains; and the fierce invader, having made a captive of the emperor, obliged the unfortunate monarch to wait upon him at table, for several days, in his tent, and then had him cruelly put to death; soon after which, some of his generals captured the son of the murdered sovereign, who was treated with every insult, and, in the habit of a slave, was compelled to attend the barbarian chief on his hunting excursions, and to perform the degrading office of carrying his parasol; for parasols to screen them from the sun were luxuries known to the Chinese and Tartars as early as the fourth century, and probably long before, but they were ensigns of dignity, and only used by persons of rank.

The unhappy prince was not destined long to endure these mortifications, for he was beheaded by command of the tyrant, in consequence of an attempt made to effect his liberation. Another prince of his family was immediately proclaimed emperor, and the Tartars were soon driven out of the Chinese territories, but not before they had done a vast deal of mischief in the provinces that bordered on their own country. The monarchs of the Tsin dynasty were not so illustrious as those of the race of Han. The country does not appear to have been so well governed; and the people were very much dissatisfied with the heavy taxes levied to support the extravagance of the court, which had never been held with so much magnificence as at this period. Grand feasts and expensive entertainments were constantly given at the palace, where the royal banquets were usually enlivened by dances performed by female slaves, who were splendidly attired in dresses sparkling with gold and jewels. Their movements were accompanied by very noisy music, for the Chinese have always been fond of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and those deafening instruments called gongs. They had, however, many softer instruments, such as the lute and guitar, which were often touched by other female fingers, and accompanied by other female voices, besides those of the young slaves; but dancing was treated merely as an exhibition, and not resorted to for amusement, as in European countries. The excessive luxury of the court, which could be maintained only by burdening the people with taxes, excited much popular discontent, which manifested itself as usual by a number of insurrections, which broke out from time to time in different parts of the empire, and at length ended in the overthrow of the Tsin dynasty; a revolution that was effected in a very remarkable manner, and of which the following are the incidents: — A poor boy named Lieouyu, born in the city of Nanking, had been left a destitute orphan at a very early age, and must have perished from want, had not an old woman, who took compassion on him, brought him up as her own. As soon as he was old enough he learned to make shoes, and sold them in the streets of the city; but he was so idle and

careless, that those who knew him predicted that he would come to no good. For a long time Lieouyu carried on his shoe-trade, by which he earned a scanty livelihood, without concerning himself much about his condition, until he happened to attract the notice of a military officer, who had probably stopped him to make a purchase, and who, being pleased with his replies to some questions he had put, proposed to him that he should become a soldier. As fighting was an occupation better suited to his taste than shoemaking, Lieouyu at once accepted the offer, and having been introduced into this new scene of action, he displayed so much courage and ability, that he was promoted in his profession by degrees, till he became chief commander of the imperial forces, and in that capacity rendered such important services to the emperor, during a serious rebellion, that he was elevated to the rank of chief minister of state. By this time he had become very ambitious, and, like all ambitious people, was not content to stop at any point while there was a still higher one to attain; therefore he took advantage of the prevailing disaffection towards the reigning family, and having made himself exceedingly popular, seized a favourable opportunity of aspiring openly to the throne, and, by the aid of a powerful party, compelled the emperor to abdicate in his favour. Such was the remarkable career of Lieouyu, who was proclaimed emperor.

Towards the close of the dynasty of Tsin, China had become divided into two kingdoms, each having its own sovereign, which could scarcely fail to occasion many troubles, particularly as one was considered subordinate to the other. The superior prince, who alone bore the title of emperor, resided at Nanking, while the king of the northern part of the country kept his court at Honan; and they were frequently at war with each other. It was fortunate for the people that the Tartars, about this time, turned their attention towards Europe, and, under their renowned king, Attila, invaded the Roman empire. The Chinese were thus relieved from their most formidable enemies; yet there is no period of their history more confused or more disturbed than that which followed the downfall of the Tsin dynasty. For nearly two centuries afterwards, five successive races rapidly followed each other to the throne, and then to ruin and extinction. The salutary rule of a fixed succession was constantly violated by the strongest, and the history of the period is a mere record of blood and crime. There is every reason to believe that the Chinese, during this time, were carrying on an extensive trade with the Arabians and Persians, whose caravans made regular journeys to the frontiers, from whence they returned laden with silks, of which a portion was sent to Constantinople, for the use of the luxurious inhabitants of that city.* We must here remember, that after Rome had been taken by the Goths, Constantinople, where the Roman emperors had held their court ever since the time of Constantine the Great, remained, with a large portion of what was termed the Empire of the East, in possession of the Romans. It was then the most wealthy city in the world, and its inhabitants indulged in every rare and costly luxury. Silks were in great demand, and were supplied at immense prices by the merchants of Arabia and Persia, who, however, could afford no information respecting the Chinese; neither did they know that silk was produced by insects. It was about the middle of the sixth century, and during the time that China was in the state of anarchy above described, that the secret was discovered, and brought into Europe by two Nestorian monks, who went as Christian missionaries into distant lands; but whether it was in India or in China that they made the valuable discovery alluded to, has never been ascertained. However, it is certain that they carried the intelligence to the Emperor Justinian, and undertook, for a large reward, to procure for him a quantity of silk-worms' eggs. The monks were fortunate enough to escape with the stolen eggs, which they carried to Constantinople inside a cane; and as they had made themselves acquainted with the art of rearing the worms, the little creatures multiplied very fast in the warm climate of Greece, and were the progenitors of all the silk-worms propagated in Europe.

Towards the end of the sixth century, the northern and southern kingdoms of China were again united into one, of which the city of Honan was declared the capital; and not long afterwards the country was restored to order by another revolution and the accession of a new and illustrious race of sovereigns, called "Tang," who re-established the old system of government which had been so happily pursued by the Han princes. The founder of the Tang dynasty was a chief or general named Ly-yuen, who deposed the last prince of the five families that had so long kept the country in confusion, and ascended the throne in 622. The greater part of his reign was spent in subduing rebellions raised by the princes of the late dynasty, and making such regulations as were likely to lead to future prosperity; but as soon as he saw that peace was restored, and that the stream of government was again flowing in its proper channel, he chose to abdicate in favour of his son, the great Tae-tsoong, after having occupied the throne about nine years. Tae-tsoong is celebrated by the Chinese as one of their most illustrious sovereigns; and he appears to have merited the praises bestowed on him for his clemency, wisdom, justice, and general attention to the welfare of the people. Under the auspices of this enlightened prince, learning and the arts flourished as in the ancient times, and all the high offices were again filled by men of letters; while, in order to promote the revival of literature, which had so long been neglected for war, an academy was instituted within the precincts of the palace, where not less than eight thousand students received instructions from the most able professors. Tae-tsoong also founded a great school for archery, where he often attended himself,

---

* Before this period the Arabians, then a most commercial people, had formed considerable settlements in Ceylon and in various places on the Malabar coast, had made themselves familiar with the navigation of the Indian Ocean, and had sent their trading-vessels as far as China.

for the purpose of practising that warlike art, in which it was important for the Chinese to excel, as bows and arrows were their principal weapons. The ministers sometimes remonstrated with the emperor on the imprudence of trusting himself among the archers, but the good prince only replied, "Am I not the father of my people? What, then, should I fear from my children?"

The attention of Tae-tsoong was constantly directed towards improving the condition of the lower orders, which he effected in a material degree, by lessening the taxes and sending commissioners into all the provinces to inquire into the conduct of the magistrates, and to see that the poor were not oppressed by them; for he often expressed the benevolent wish that every poor man should have enough of the common necessaries of life to make him comfortable in his station; which may remind us of the well-known speech of Henry the Fourth of France, that he should not be satisfied till every peasant in the kingdom could afford to have a fowl in his pot on the Sunday, His strict sentiments with regard to the administration of justice induced him to pass a law for the prevention of bribery, by making it an offence punishable with death for any magistrate to receive a present as a propitiation in the exercise of his power; and in order to ascertain whether this law had its proper effect, he employed a person to offer a bribe to a certain magistrate, of whose integrity he had some suspicion. The bribe was accepted, and the guilty magistrate condemned to death; but his life was saved by the interference of one of the ministers, who were always at liberty to speak freely to the emperors on the subject of their conduct. "Great Prince," said the monitor, "the magistrate is guilty, and therefore deserves to die, according to the law; but are not you, who tempted him to commit the crime, a sharer in his guilt?" The emperor at once admitted that he was so, and pardoned the offender.

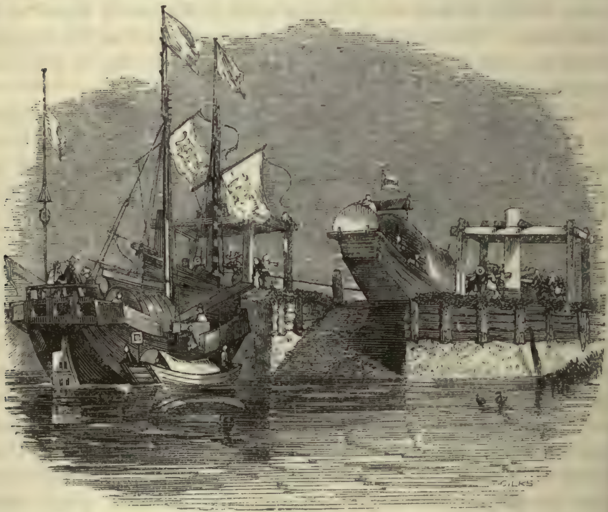
It is recorded, and apparently with truth, that during the reign of Tae-tsoong, some Christian missionaries first arrived in China, where they were well received by the emperor, who permitted them to build a church, and preach Christianity among the people; but it does not appear that their efforts were very successful.

The missionaries are described as having fair hair and blue eyes. According to the Jesuits, a stone monument was found some ten centuries after this date, in the province of Shan-sy, bearing a cross, an abstract of the Christian law, and the names of seventy-two preachers, in Syriac characters. It has been urged by some, that this discovery might have been a pious fraud on the part of the Jesuits ; but, as Sir J. F. Davis observes, it is not easy to assign any adequate motive for such a forgery, and the evidence seems, upon the whole, to be in favour of the authenticity of the monument and its inscriptions. Nearly a century before this time, Christian colonies were established on either side of the Red Sea, and the great seaports, which traded with Ceylon and India, were filled with Christians. Indeed, we know that missionaries of the Gospel began to find their way across the Indian Ocean, in Arabian vessels, as early as the fifth century.

It was about this time that the Chinese first discovered the art of making that fine porcelain, which has ever since been one of their principal manufactures. A common kind of earthenware had been in use from time immemorial, and there were potteries in various parts of the country where it was made ; but it was not till about the middle of the seventh century that the Chinese began to make the beautiful semi-transparent ware so much valued and admired in Europe, and to which the European manufacture of porcelain owes its origin. The discovery of the materials and the composition of them, in the manufacture of this fine ware, was probably owing to some accidental circumstance which occurred in the potteries, and which gave an idea to the workmen that it was possible to manufacture a kind of ware much superior to that which they had been in the habit of making. The first furnace on record was established at Changnan, a great city, on the banks of a river, in the province of Keang-sy, situated about half-way between Canton and Nanking, in the neighbourhood of which the earth and stones were found that are employed in the manufacture of the fine kind of porcelain ; a certain portion of which, made there, was sent annually to the emperor as tribute, under the name of imitation-gem ware.

The Emperor Tae-tsoong died, after a reign of twenty-three years, universally regretted by his subjects, who looked up to him as a pattern of wisdom and virtue, and preserved many of his excellent maxims, which are frequently repeated with great veneration to this very day. The successors of Tae-tsoong maintained the peace and prosperity that had been established by that great prince; and under their dominion the country was much improved, and the people enjoyed a considerable share of comfort and tranquillity.

Among the great national works of the seventh century were several extensive canals for the convenience of inland commerce, with locks of a very peculiar construction, placed in embankments, over which their flat-bottomed vessels, without being unloaded, were hauled by ropes attached to large capstans.



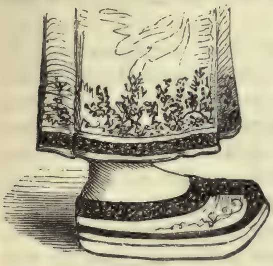
By means of this inland communication, trade was so much increased that a great number of vessels came every year to the port of Canfu, supposed to be the same now called Canton; and in the year 700 a regular market was opened there for foreign merchandise, and an imperial commissioner was appointed to receive the customs on all goods imported from other countries, which collectively produced a large revenue to the government.

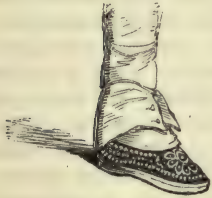
The Arabians were, at this period, more enlightened and civilised than any European nation. Their merchants were rich, and lived in a style of princely magnificence in their own country, and they were the first foreigners who formed a settlement at Canton, where so many of them went to reside that they were permitted to have a cadi, or magistrate of the Mahommedan religion, to preside over them; and in evidence of their freedom to exercise their own form of worship, there is an ancient mosque at Canton, which has all the appearance of having been built so long ago as the time here referred to. The Mahommedan faith is now professed by a great number of the Chinese people in different parts of the empire, but is perhaps chiefly confined to those of Tartar origin, as there must have been many Moslems, or "true believers," as they call themselves, among the followers of the great Tartar chiefs of the race of Zinghis Khan, an account of whose conquests will commence an important era in the history of China.

The sixth emperor of the Tang dynasty founded the Hanlin College, the great literary institution of the Chinese empire, consisting of forty members, from amongst whom the ministers of state are generally chosen, and from whom all successful candidates for honours receive their degrees. The members of the Hanlin are mentioned in old histories as the learned doctors of the empire, and in fact possessed quite as much knowledge in those days as they do now; for the members of the present day are all educated according to the ancient system; nor have any new branches of learning, as it is believed, been introduced into the schools of China: yet, when the Hanlin College was founded, the Chinese were far in advance of the Europeans, both in knowledge and refinement, for the modern nations of Europe were then only just emerging from the barbarism into which they had been plunged by the conquests of the Gothic tribes. England was divided among the Saxon princes of the Heptarchy, and France was in that rude state which preceded the reign of Charlemagne. It may be imagined that only a very small proportion of the boys in any school were gifted with such great talents as would entitle them to attain preferment; therefore, of the many who presented themselves as candidates for honours at the hall of their province, where an examination was held once a-year, very few perhaps were chosen; and those had to pass other halls, before doctors of a higher degree, before they were eligible to be appointed to offices of state. Still each aspirant had a chance, and as the object was so important, great pains were taken to instil into the minds of youth a due sense of the value of learning, and many little stories, written with that intent, were read to children as soon as they were of an age to comprehend them. These juvenile tales are mostly very simple, but are not uninteresting as illustrations of the character and manners of the people. The following are specimens of their general style: — "There was a boy, whose father was so poor that he could not afford to send him to school, but was obliged to make him work all day in the fields to help to maintain his family. The lad was so anxious to learn that he proposed giving up a part of the night to study; but as his mother had not the means of supplying him with a lamp for that purpose, he brought home every evening a glow-worm, which, being wrapped in a thin piece of gauze and applied to the lines of a book, gave sufficient light to enable him to read; and thus he acquired so much knowledge that in course of time he became a minister of state, and supported his parents with ease and comfort in their old age." Another youth, who was rather dull of intellect, found it a very laborious task to apply himself to learning, and made such slow progress that he was often rather disheartened; yet he was not idle, and for several years continued to study with unceasing diligence. At length the time arrived for his examination, and he repaired, with many others, to the hall of the province, where he had the mortification, after all his exertions, of being dismissed as unqualified to pass. In returning homeward, very much depressed in spirits, and thinking it would be better to give up literary pursuits altogether and turn his attention to some other employment, he happened to see an old woman busily employed in rubbing an iron pestle on a whetstone. "What are you doing there, good mother?" said he. "I am grinding down this pestle," replied the old dame, "till it becomes sharp enough to use for working embroidery;" and she continued her employment. Lipee, such was the name of the student, struck with the patience and perseverance of the woman, applied her answer to his own case. "She will no doubt succeed at last," said he; "then why should I despair?" So he returned to his studies, and in a few years, on appearing again before the board, he acquitted himself so well that he passed with honour, and rose in time to one of the highest offices in the state. These short and simple tales, of which the Chinese have whole volumes, serve to show the bias they endeavoured to give to the minds of their children, and account for the studious habits of so large a portion of the community.

It was during the latter part of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 851–877) that the two celebrated Mahommedan travellers, whose accounts have been so often quoted, visited China and resided at Canton. These Arab traders, though they frequently complained of the rapacity and venality of the mandarins, give, on the whole, a favourable account of the country. They describe the use of copper money, the light, transparent, and elegant Chinese porcelain, their wine made from rice, and other things, which were never before mentioned, and which are still found in use among the Chinese. They are the first to describe the use of tea, as a common beverage among the Chinese. They say,—"The emperor reserves to himself the revenues which arise from the salt mines, and those which are derived from impositions upon a certain herb called *tcha* (tea), which they drink with hot water, and of which vast quantities are sold in all the cities of China." They mention the relief afforded to the people from the public granaries, during famine or scarcity. They likewise mention the *bamboo* as the great governing instrument, or panacea in all matters of police. By connecting various disjointed sentences and paragraphs, we derive a consistent account of a very orderly and methodical government; but the two Arabian voyagers lament that recent revolutions and troubles had greatly affected the prosperity of the country and the administration of justice.

It was about this period that the strange custom was first adopted in China of binding the feet of female children to prevent their growth. The origin of this absurd and unnatural practice is unknown, nor is it easy to imagine what could have induced women in the first instance thus to deform themselves; for although vanity may be a powerful incitement for the continuance of a custom that distinguishes the higher from the lower classes, it hardly accounts for the first introduction of this practice, as any other distinctive mark, less painful and less inconvenient, might have answered the same purpose. The daughters of all people of rank are obliged to submit, at an early age, to have their feet cramped up and tightly confined with bandages, which are not removed for about three years, when the bones are so far compressed that the feet never assume their natural shape and size. The health of the children generally suffers much from the want of proper exercise during this cruel process, and the enjoyment of after-life must be greatly diminished by the difficulty which females find in walking, or even standing without support. Yet they are proud of their very helplessness, and would think it excessively vulgar to be able to walk with a firm and dignified step.* The lower classes cannot follow a fashion that would disable them from pursuing their daily labours, yet many parents in a very humble station of life are not free from the vanity of desiring to have one daughter with small feet, the prettiest child being usually selected for that distinction; and such is the force of fashion, that the little damsel who is thus tortured and crippled is looked upon as an object of envy rather than of pity.


Ancient Foot.


Modern Foot.

Like every other dynasty in China, that of Tang rapidly degenerated. They became mere tools in the hands of the eunuchs of the palace, who ruled them through the women. The third emperor of the line was so besotted by one of his wives, that at his death he invested her with sovereign power.

---

* When a lady of rank falls into a state of poverty and destitution (no uncommon event in China), her condition is very helpless and deplorable. She cannot walk like other people. If she goes begging in the streets she must be carried on the back of a woman of the common class whose feet have not been crippled. Several of our travellers have described unfortunate ladies proceeding, in this manner, in search of charity.

She reigned absolutely for about twenty years, and then left her son to succeed her, and the son remained a slave to the wretched slaves who had maintained her on the throne. The power of the eunüchs was at length destroyed by the last emperor of this race. Too weak to extirpate them himself, he called in the aid of a powerful chief, who fulfilled his commission to the letter, but subsequently killed the emperor and his heirs, and, after a course of atrocious cruelties, put an end to the dynasty of Tang, A.D. 897.

For the space of fifty years after the extinction of the Tang dynasty, the government was in much the same state as it had been three centuries before, when the Tsin dynasty was set aside by the usurper Lieouyu ; and although the present period of anarchy was of so much shorter duration, it witnessed the accession of five different families, numbering in all thirteen emperors, whose reigns were very brief, most of them dying by some kind of violence. Yet it was in these turbulent times that printing began to be practised in China ; an event which occurred about five hundred years before that art was known in Europe. The method first adopted in China was to engrave the characters on stone, consequently, when the impressions were taken off, the ground of the paper was black and the letters were white ; but this mode was shortly superseded by the invention of wooden blocks, cut in such a manner that the letters were raised instead of being indented, and thus were impressed in black on a white ground. This mode of printing from wood is still practised in China, and is better adapted to the written language of the Chinese than the use of moveable types, as the words are not formed of separate letters like those of European languages, but a single character expresses a whole word, and sometimes more than one ; and as there are many thousands of characters, it would cost the printer much unnecessary time and trouble to compose a page according to our plan. Before the invention of printing there must have been a vast number of the Chinese constantly employed in writing, as they were always a reading people, and even the poorest peasants were able to obtain books in manuscript; while in Europe a book was a thing unknown among the lower classes, and seldom to be met with except in monasteries or the palaces of princes.

The troubles that followed the fall of the Tang dynasty encouraged the Eastern Tartars to make new irruptions into the empire, and one of their chieftains having aided a fresh usurper to mount the imperial throne, received from him in return the grant of a large territory in the province of Pe-che-lee, with an annual tribute of silks; and thus the Tartars gained a footing in the north of China, which laid the foundation of those long and terrible wars that ended in the first Tartar conquest. But ere these wars commenced, there was an interval of repose, in consequence of the downfall of the last usurping family of the five petty dynasties, and the elevation of a race called Soong, of which there were eighteen emperors. The founder of the Soong dynasty was a popular minister, who had also had the command of the armies, and had distinguished himself by his courage no less than by his ability in affairs of state ; therefore, as the emperor was dead and his son was but a child, it was decided by all the military leaders and other great men, that it would be better to place on the throne a man who was able to defend the country against its enemies. They accordingly fixed on the *chief minister*, and sent a deputation to his palace to invest him with the yellow robe, and he was proclaimed by the title of Tae-tsoo, in the year 950.* The names assumed by the emperors usually had some appropriate meaning ; thus Tae-tsoo signifies " Great Sire." The conduct of the new monarch justified the high opinion that had been formed of his virtues and abilities, and he holds a place in the history of China as one of the greatest of its sovereigns. His mother, too, is reckoned among the illustrious females of the empire, for the Chinese annals have preserved the names of many women distinguished by their superior understanding, whose wise sayings and exemplary conduct are recorded as examples for others.

Under the first and second sovereigns of the Soong line the art of printing was improved, and still farther disseminated.

---

* Other accounts are given of this accession. Our best writer on Chinese subjects says—" The Chinese, being about to engage the Eastern Tartars, did not wish to be ruled by a child. They accordingly fixed on a servant of the late emperor, and immediately despatched messengers, who found him overcome with wine, and in that state communicated their message. The Chinese history adds, that ' before he had time to reply, the yellow robe was already applied to his person.' Substitute purple for yellow, and this might be taken for the translation of a passage in Tacitus or Suetonius."— SIR JOHN F. DAVIS.

Books were greatly multiplied, and to these causes may be attributed the increased fulness of the records of this period, from which the really interesting thread of Chinese history commences. "Our lights now multiply fast, and the Tartars begin to take a great share in the national transactions. In fact, the whole history of this polished but unwarlike race is a series of disgraceful arts of compromise with the Eastern Tartars, called *Kin* (the origin of the Mantchus, or present reigning family), until the Mongols, or Western Tartars, took possession of the empire under Koblai Khan."* The emperors were even content to purchase temporary cessations from war by the payment of tribute; a plan that was pursued by the Saxon king of England at that very time, in order to keep off the invasion of the Danes; and in both cases it proved equally ineffectual. Yet the commercial intercourse with Arabia and Persia had continued to increase, and great portions of the empire might be said to be in a prosperous condition, if a nation can be called prosperous that has lost all its military virtue, and is too unwarlike to defend its liberty and independence. The first emperor of this line paid great attention to the improvement of his army, but it was not possible either to give that army a good organisation or to revive in it a martial spirit.

In the reign of the third emperor of the Soong dynasty were established the famous porcelain furnaces at King-te-chin, a large village in the province of Keang-sy, where all the best china is still made. These manufactories were erected in the year 1000, and still afford employment to many thousands of people. At that time porcelain was one of the principal articles of export, to which were added, silks and spices; for although the Chinese had no spice in their own country except coarse pepper, still they were able to obtain abundance of the finer sorts of spices in their trade with the neighbouring islands: and about this time they took possession of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, which they retained above sixty years, when they were dispossessed by the Malays, who were soon obliged to give them up to the Arabs. Tea had not yet become an article of foreign trade, although it was in very general use among the natives of China.

In the reign of Chin-tsoong, the third emperor of the line of Soong, the *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, laid siege to a town near Peking; they were obliged to suspend the siege, and to enter into negotiations: yet they obtained from their unwarlike foes very advantageous terms, with a large annual donative or tribute of money and silk. Under Jin-tsoong, the fourth emperor, the Chinese entered into a still more disgraceful treaty. Ten extensive districts within the Great Wall were claimed by the Eastern Tartars, who received an annual quit-rent of 200,000 taëls, and an enormous quantity of silk. This emperor even submitted to be styled, and to call himself, a *tributary*, making use in his treaties with the Tartar chiefs of the term *Na-koong*.

---

* Sir J. F. Davis.

Under each succeeding ruler the decline of the empire was more and more accelerated. There was nothing but vice and effeminacy in the palace, and rank cowardice in the field. Large armies took flight at the first distant appearance of a few squadrons of Tartar horse. Wei-tsoong, the eighth emperor of this line, enslaved himself to conjurers and impostors, who promised him longevity and wealth, and to those old pests of the country, the eunuchs of the palace, who were again found in incredible numbers, and in possession of all the keys to honour, promotion, or public employment, whether military or civil. Encouraged by the weakness and imbecility of this ruler, and the spiritless, abject, cringing attitude of his people, the Eastern Tartars advanced at a rapid pace, took possession of a good part of Northern China, and threatened the whole empire with their iron conquest. In this extremity the Chinese applied for aid to the Mongols, or Western Tartars, who had already conquered India, and who now inhabited the vast elevated plains which extend from the north-west of China to Thibet and Samarcand. These hardy warriors eagerly accepted the invitation, and in brief space of time they subdued both the Eastern Tartars, who were their rivals for dominion, and the enervated Chinese whom they had been invited to protect. It was now found that trade, wealth, literature, and refinement, cannot defend a state, that pacific habits do not ensure peace or exemption from foreign conquest, and that every country which would preserve its tranquillity, its riches, its independence, and its other blessings, must keep alive its martial ardour, and be at all times ready to maintain a war.

In the very populous cities of the empire which attempted to stand sieges, the slaughter was terrific, and was estimated by the Chinese annalists at millions of souls. We turn from the revolting details to give the great results.

By the year 1234 the Mongols, or Western Tartars, were absolute masters of the northern half of modern China. The *Kin*, or Eastern Tartars, who until then had occupied some of the provinces bordering on the Great Wall, were attacked on one side by the Chinese, and on the other by the Mongols, under the command of the celebrated Pe-Yen (*Hundred Eyes*), who is mentioned by Marco Polo. Their principal city, called Kai-fong-fou, and described as being the largest city then in the world, containing a population of more than 2,000,000 of souls, was invested twice, and taken at the second siege, after another deplorable sacrifice of human life. The last prince of these Eastern Tartars strangled himself in his despair; all his principal officers, and 500 other persons, plunged into the river, and perished. This put an end to the power and the dynasty of the *Kin*; but the remnant became the stock from which grew the Mantchu Tartars, who, four centuries afterwards, conquered the whole of China, and who to this day hold that empire in subjection.

THE MONGOL DYNASTY.

It was not to be expected that a people so active and warlike as the Mongols would long remain satisfied with the northern and poorer half of the country, and leave the fertile, rich, and glowing regions of the south to a people so unwarlike and so helpless as the Chinese. This was still less likely when a great warrior, statesman, and administrator, such as Kublai Khan, ascended the Mongol throne. Finding himself in undisturbed possession of all the north of China, and with a countless reserve of light cavalry in the regions beyond the Great Wall, Kublai took advantage of the infancy of the reigning Chinese emperor to use an argument convenient to his purpose. "Your family," said he, "owes its rise to the minority of the last emperor of the preceding dynasty; it is, therefore, just that you, a child, and the last remnant of the line of Soong, should give place to another family."

The Mongols rapidly approached the imperial city; the whole court fled in the utmost consternation, and went on board some barks that were lying near the mouth of the Canton river. Tartar vessels were sent in pursuit of the wretched fugitives, whose terror at the sight of the hostile fleet seems to have amounted to madness; for one of the grandees, seizing the infant emperor in his arms, jumped with him into the sea, and was instantly followed by the empress and the chief ministers, who thus all perished (A.D. 1281).

The Tartar sovereign was left in undisputed possession of the whole empire, but the conquest had not been achieved without much bloodshed, and numerous acts of revolting barbarity; but when the great object was accomplished, and the Mongol emperor acknowledged by the Chinese as their sovereign, he endeavoured to win their affections by conferring benefits upon them, and sought to establish his power on the firm basis of popular esteem, rather than suffer it to rest on the uncertain foundation of that terror which his name had hitherto inspired.

Never did a more illustrious prince ascend an Eastern throne, and never was there one more beloved and respected than Kublai Khan; and although a conqueror, and of a foreign race, he was deservedly called the father of his people, who had no cause to regret, beyond their previous sufferings, the revolution that had placed him at the head of the empire. He wisely abstained from making any alterations in the political institutions of the Chinese, nor did he interfere with any of their ancient customs; the high functionaries who had submitted to his authority were suffered to retain their employments, and in the distribution of offices of state no unjust partiality was shown towards the Tartars; and thus peace was preserved between the conquerors and the conquered. The Chinese gladly accepted an exemption from military service, so that the sword remained almost exclusively in the hands of the Mongols, whose discipline and subordination to the civil authority appear to have been exemplary throughout the reign of this truly illustrious Tartarian prince.

The tribute or rent imposed on the natives of the country was a tenth part of all the silk, rice, wool, hemp, and other produce of their land, except sugar and spice, on which only a very small duty was levied; but these duties were not levied on the mechanics, who, for their tribute, were obliged to work for the government one day in nine, which amounted to a ninth part of their labour; and on these days they were employed in keeping the public edifices in repair, and making clothes and warlike implements for the army.

The new emperor fixed the seat of government at Peking, or Kambalu, as it is styled by the Tartars and our early travellers. Kambalu must have been the same as the ancient city of Yeu-king, which was probably enlarged, and received the addition of a new palace built by the Mongol prince, as the old imperial residence was destroyed, and the town also partly ruined, when it was stormed by the Eastern Tartars.

The more modern and handsomer part of Peking was not built till the beginning of the fifteenth century, after the restoration of the native princes. Kambalu, in the time of

Kublai Khan, was a wealthy and populous city, containing plenty of shops, well stocked with the rich merchandise of Persia and Arabia; for, as soon as peace was restored, a considerable trade was carried on overland with those countries, from which the caravans arrived regularly every year, and the merchants were lodged in hotels or caravanserais, of which there were many in the suburbs, built expressly for the accommodation of foreign traders, each nation having its own particular hotels and storehouses.

The commerce of the empire had now increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to adopt a more convenient kind of money than the small copper coinage that was in general use; therefore Kublai Khan invented a species of paper money, similar to our banknotes, made of the inner bark of the mulberry-tree, and stamped with his own mark, to counterfeit which was a crime punishable with death. This great prince seems to have paid more attention to the interests of commerce than any of the emperors who had preceded him; and to him the Chinese are indebted for one of the grandest of their national works, which is the Great Canal, that forms a direct communication by water between Canton and Peking.

The want of good roads has always been a check to the internal trade of China, and this disadvantage was at once perceived by the emperor, who projected and carried into execution a design for facilitating the intercourse between the chief cities. This was effected by turning the waters of some of the lakes into artificial channels, which were made to communicate with the rivers; many branches also extending to towns that were not in their course. 170,000 men were employed for years in the construction of this mighty work, which was completed under the immediate successors of Kublai, and which, for real utility, far surpasses the Great Wall, being at this moment of the utmost benefit to the Chinese, whose inland trade would be very limited without it, as the means of land-carriage are few, and both tedious and expensive. Another great advantage of this canal was, that it answered the purpose of draining large tracts of marshy but fertile land, which had till then been quite useless, but were thus rendered fit for cultivation.

For nearly the length of 1000 English miles this grand canal affords the means of a safe, uninterrupted, and commodious inland navigation; and from it are derived the means of irrigating a prodigious extent of country on either of its banks. On these banks, likewise, are constructed strong and wide terraces, or *chaussées*, upon which travelling by land is rendered perfectly convenient. "This magnificent work," says our earliest European traveller (writing) in China, "is deserving of all admiration; and not so much from the manner in which it is conducted through the country, or its vast extent, as from its great utility, and the benefit it produces to those innumerable cities which lie in its course. No man may count the number of bridges by which it is crossed."

By the admirable police organised under Kublai Khan, the Great Canal and its side-roads were kept perfectly safe for the traveller. In case of any accident by land or water, or of sickness on the route, houses were erected on the banks, and supplied with proper persons to afford succour and assistance. Many of these humane establishments have disappeared, but many yet remain, and are still used in case of need. The expenses appear to be wholly borne by the state. Some of the *hospices* are described as extensive, commodious, and even elegant establishments.

It was in the early part of the reign of Kublai, before he had become master of the whole empire, that China was for the first time visited by European travellers, who were fortunate enough to be admitted to the court of the Great Khan, and honoured by his confidence and friendship.

Matteo and Nicolo Polo were two merchants of Venice, who, having occasion to make a journey into Persia, heard so much there respecting the splendour of the imperial court, that they felt a great desire to become acquainted with the distant city of Kambalu, which they found means to visit by accompanying a Persian ambassador, who was charged with despatches for the emperor. They were received with the greatest courtesy by Kublai, who was well pleased at meeting with such an opportunity of gaining some correct information respecting the people of Europe, and made many inquiries on the subject of different European countries; from which it may be inferred that he was more enlightened as to the state of the Western world than the recent monarchs of the Chinese empire, who seem to have been possessed with the infatuated belief that the Europeans are all in a most pitiable state of barbarism. He put minute and very sensible questions as to our religion, civil polity, forms of government, modes of administering justice, and our system and conduct of warfare. The Poli, who were both men of intelligence and wit, satisfied him on these particulars, and gave him ample information concerning the Pope, whose influence in propelling the nations of Europe upon Asia, in the Crusades, had rendered him important in the eyes of Kublai Khan. As by this time the two enterprising brothers had made themselves well acquainted with the Mongol language, they had no need of interpreters, but spoke directly with the great Tartar ruler; a vast advantage, as all must feel who have had intercourse with any Oriental people through the medium of drogomans. In consequence of the conversations he held with the Venetians, Kublai, who was himself a votary of the Buddhist faith, was, nevertheless, so highly impressed with their representation of the excellence of the Christian religion, that he despatched by them a letter to the Pope, containing a request that his holiness would send proper persons to instruct the Chinese in the doctrines of Christianity; and the Venetian travellers departed on this extraordinary mission.

They were furnished with a pass, or golden tablet, displaying the imperial cipher, according to the usage established by his majesty; in virtue of which the persons bearing it, together with their whole suite, are safely conveyed from station to station by the governors of all places within the imperial dominions, and are entitled, during the time of their residing in any city, castle, town, or village, to a supply of provisions and everything necessary for their accommodation. In the vulgar European dialect of Canton, this is now termed the emperor's grand *chop*, a word used to express seal, mark, warrant or license, or passport. Passports existed in China many centuries before they were introduced into Europe. It must be confessed that a Chinese passport is a much better thing for the bearer than a European one, as it ensures him gratuitous lodging and accommodation, and, generally, food on the road. A Tartar nobleman was also sent with them, and was to accompany them all the way to the Pope of Rome; but he sank under ill-health and the fatigues of the journey, and the Poli were obliged to leave him behind before they had travelled more than twenty days. So far as the vast Mongol dominions extended, the golden tablet or passport procured them hospitality, attention, horses, and mounted escorts, and whatever assistance they and their numerous suite required. They were as safe and as well treated in the wilds of Tartary as in the regions southward of the Great Wall.

Several years had passed away, during which the khan had been so much engaged in prosecuting the war against Manjee, the southern kingdom of China, that he had almost forgotten the Venetians, whose first visit had taken place long before that conquest; nor was the war yet quite ended when they returned, accompanied by Marco Polo, the son of one of them, and the most celebrated of the three, since it was he who wrote, on his return to Italy, an account of the Chinese empire, or kingdom of Cathay, where he had resided no less than seventeen years, during which he had enjoyed, without interruption, the favour of the emperor.

At this period, so little was known of China in the

Western world, that the history of Marco Polo gained but little credit, and failed to enlighten the people of the age with regard to that fine country. In fact there were very few who knew anything about the traveller, or the book he had written; for the art of printing being then unknown in Europe, knowledge was but slowly and partially diffused, and those who read the work thought it so improbable, that they treated the whole narrative as a fiction. The extent and wealth of Cathay, the splendour of its court, the number of its cities, the beauty of its manufactures, the order of its government, all faithfully described by the author, were read with a smile of incredulity; nor was it till a much later period, when the country was visited by other Europeans, that justice was done to his veracity. In fact, *full* justice was never rendered to this illustrious traveller until the year 1818, when our excellent and learned countryman, the late venerable Mr. William Marsden, published his translation and edition, under the title of "The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the thirteenth century; being a Description, by that early Traveller, of remarkable Places and Things in the Eastern Part of the World." This quarto volume, of 860 pages, contains the results of many years of labour devoted to the task of validating the authority of the old traveller. The comments, notes, and dissertations are hardly to be numbered, and they are as valuable as they are numerous. Other travellers, and navigators of all ages and of all countries, are quoted wherever they describe the countries or places visited by Marco; and from the mass of evidence thus collected Mr. Marsden has established, beyond the reach of rational doubt, that the long-calumniated Venetian is, in the main, most remarkably veracious and correct in his descriptions. Of these descriptions, a very large portion relate exclusively to China and its dependencies.

But to resume the subject of our history. When the Poli set out on their return to China, they had with them two preaching friars, deputed as missionaries by Pope Gregory X., who also sent letters to the khan; but some of the states of Syria, through which the travellers had to pass, were in a state of warfare, and the friars were, from untoward circumstance, prevented from proceeding, while the Poli, after encountering many difficulties and dangers, safely reached their destination. This was about the time when the Crusades were drawing to a close, and the year that the three Italians arrived at the court of Kublai Khan was the same (A.D. 1274) as that in which Edward I., returned to England from the Holy Land.

They found Kublai Khan at Yeu-king, near Kambalu, or Peking, in the midst of his court and great officers of state. They performed the kotoo, or nine prostrations, as they are now practised in the Chinese court; and Marco's father and uncle, then rising, related, in perspicuous language, all that they had done since their departure, and all that had happened to them, the khan listening with attentive silence. The letters and presents of the Pope were next laid before the tolerant Tartar conqueror, who, it is said, received with peculiar reverence some oil from the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The emperor testified much delight at the return of his former visitors, and was so much pleased with young Marco, that he conferred on him a high post at the court, and employed him on missions to various parts of the empire. Marco had therefore sufficient opportunities of observing the state of the country, as well as the manners of the court. He tells us himself that he was held in high estimation and respect by all belonging to the court, that he learned in a short time and adopted the manners of the Tartars, and acquired a proficiency in four different languages, which he became qualified to read and write.

The cities were, at this period, thronged with industrious manufacturers, who all worked at their own homes, and sold the produce of their labour to the wealthy merchants, who traded principally to India; from which country the manufactures and produce of China were conveyed to Alexandria, and from that port were transported to Venice, where they were all received under the general name of Indian goods, and thus the Chinese were for a long time considered the same people as the Indians, and their country was supposed to be the most remote part of India. It is believed by many persons that an acquaintance with the narrative of Marco Polo was a powerful inducement to Christopher Columbus to undertake his first voyage of discovery, by which he expected to arrive at the wealthy land described by the Venetian under the name of Cathay.

Among the many improvements made by Kublai Khan during his beneficent reign, was the establishment of inns or post-houses, commencing from the capital and continued at intervals of about thirty-six miles to all the principal places in the empire, and at these stations relays of horses were always kept in readiness for the emperor's messengers, who were there also furnished with the requisite food and lodging. There were also ferry-boats at convenient stations to carry them across the rivers and lakes without delay, so that in case of need a messenger could travel two hundred miles in the twenty-four hours; and by these means fine fruits, and other luxuries for the court and rich citizens, were often conveyed from the most distant provinces to Peking; an advantage which that city would not so readily have enjoyed otherwise, since it stands in a cold and barren plain, and depends for its supplies on the more fertile districts of the south.

These supplies are still obtained by the generality of the inhabitants by means of the Great Canal, which is constantly covered with barges, laden chiefly with grain. A great number of these barges were employed between the different provinces and the capital, in conveying the tribute, out of which, when the harvest was abundant, the emperor laid up in his granaries stores of rice and corn, which in years of scarcity he sold to the poor, at a cheap rate; although, therefore, the taxes were heavy, the people derived benefit from them when they stood most in need of assistance, and they were always remitted, or at least much lightened, in a season of public calamity. Everything, indeed, appears to have been done by this beneficent prince that could tend to increase the prosperity and happiness of his subjects, who seem to have enjoyed, under his paternal government, the blessings of peace in their fullest extent.

Among the first things which struck Marco Polo were the orderliness of the people, the strictness of the police, the populousness of the superior cities, the extent and usefulness of the grand canal, and the immense number of bridges in all parts of the empire where rivers ran or canals were dug. In describing "the noble and magnificent city of Kinsai," then the capital of Southern China, which is traversed by a river and many canals, he says,—"It is commonly reported here, that the number of bridges of all sizes amounts to 12,000." He adds,—"Those which are thrown over the principal canals, and are connected with the main streets, have arches so high, and built with so much skill, that the vessels of the country can pass under them without lowering their masts, whilst at the same time carts and horses are passing over their heads; so well is the slope from the street adapted to the height of the arch. In fact, as the river or the canals run everywhere, if the bridges were not so numerous, there would be no convenience of crossing from one place to another."

In all the cities good order was preserved, and no one was allowed to be abroad after dark, except on urgent business, when he was required to carry a lantern—a regulation that prevented robberies or disturbances in the streets at night. In the centre of the capital there was an enormous bell, suspended in a lofty building, so placed that it could be heard all over the city; and this was tolled every evening at a certain hour, as a signal for all persons to retire to their homes; as the curfew, in olden times, was rung at eve, to warn the people of England that it was time to extinguish the cheerful blaze, and betake themselves to repose.

As soon as Kublai had completed the conquest of China, he sent an ambassador to the sovereign of the Japan Islands, who was an independent prince, ruling over a numerous and not uncivilised people. The object of this embassy was to demand submission, and tribute of the Japanese monarch as a vassal of the Chinese empire; and when the indignant chief refused to comply with so unjust a requisition, the emperor declared war against him, and sent out a large fleet, in the hope of making another important conquest.

The Japanese, however, made a successful resistance; and by the help of a storm, which destroyed the greater part of the Tartar fleet, they were fortunate enough to preserve that independence which they have maintained to this very day.

The Tartar conquest produced no alteration in the manners and customs of the native Chinese, which indeed, as before observed, appear not to have been affected by any of the revolutions that have taken place in the country; all the national festivals being observed as in former times, and the same laws remaining in force that have so direct and powerful an influence on the character and social habits of the people of China.

The garments worn by the mass of the population were at this time still made of silk, for although cotton was then cultivated for the purpose of being manufactured, it was not so plentiful as silk, consequently it was much more expensive, and only used by persons of high rank; but the case is now entirely reversed, since at the present day the rich alone wear silks, while the poor are universally clothed in cotton.

One of the great festivals observed in China in the reign of Kublai Khan was the birthday of that great prince, which was a universal holiday, and celebrated throughout the empire with all kinds of public rejoicings. Sacrifices were made in the temples, the cities were illuminated, and people of all classes spent the day in feasting and amusements. Among the latter were dramatic pieces performed by companies of strolling players, either in temporary theatres set up in the streets for the delight of the commonalty, or in the houses of the great mandarins, who usually hired actors on grand occasions, as they do still, for the entertainment of their guests.

The emperor appeared on this festive day arrayed in a robe of cloth of gold, his whole dress glittering with jewels, and was attended by all the chief officers of his court, in their magnificent state-dresses, who stood around the throne, while he received the homage of the tributary princes who came to offer their congratulations. The banquet given at the palace on this occasion was extremely sumptuous, and graced with the presence of the empress and ladies of the court, for the Tartar ladies were less secluded in their habits than the Chinese, and when they first arrived in the country, were frequently seen on public occasions: but they have since adopted, in a great measure, the more reserved manners of the ladies of China.

The banquet took place in a large hall, where the guests were seated according to their rank. The emperor's table stood on a daïs at the upper end, and the ladies were ranged according to their rank, at tables by themselves. The meats were served on silver, and the drinking-cups were of gold. A band of music was in attendance the whole time; and at the lower end of the hall a temporary stage was erected, for the performances of the players, and the feats of jugglers and tumblers. But it must be observed, that the mirth of the guests was never indulged to an extent that might have been deemed disrespectful to the emperor. There was no noisy laughter; and whenever the imperial host raised the cup to his lips, a signal was given, and all present knelt down and bowed their heads until he had finished his draught.

On the occasion of the birthday, presents of great value were sent to the emperor from all the provinces; but as they were too numerous, and some of them too bulky to be laid at his feet, they were merely passed in review before him, borne by a train of camels. This was a very general custom in the East; and the presents made to Eastern princes by their subjects must have very materially contributed towards keeping up the extraordinary splendour for which their courts were so remarkable.

Marco Polo has left us a splendid description of the imperial palace at Xanadu, or Kambalu,—

> "Where twice five miles of fertile ground
> With walls and towers were girdled round."

The picture is, indeed, dazzling and marvellous; yet it does not appear, in any essential particular, to have exceeded the truth. Counting the enclosing park and gardens, the palace of Kublai Khan occupied considerably more than ten English miles of ground. All the English gentlemen who attended Lord Macartney on his embassy to China in 1793, were astonished at the extent and magnificence of the imperial palace near Peking, and their descriptions of it closely correspond with those given by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century. They found the river, the artificial lakes, the lofty hills raised by the hands of man, and planted to the top with shrubs and trees, surrounding summer-houses and cabinets contrived for retreat and pleasure. The whole, at the first glance, bore, to our countrymen, the appearance of enchantment. In point of structure, materials, and style of embellishment, there has existed a perfect resemblance between the buildings of Kublai Khan, as described by Marco, and those of the emperors Kang-hi and Kien-long in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.*

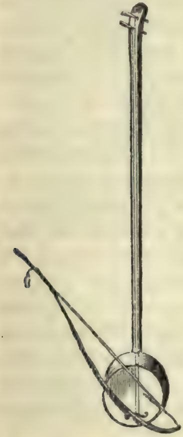
Since the Tartars had occupied the throne, hunting had been the grand amusement of the court, the sports of the chase being regarded by that people as emblematical of warfare, and the fearless hunter being respected as a brave warrior. The annual hunting expedition into Tartary was conducted with all the solemnity of a campaign, the emperor taking the head of a numerous train, which had all the appearance of a vast army marching to the field of battle. The three winter months were entirely occupied with this pursuit, which, during the season, was deemed the chief business of the state; so that the holding of these hunts is among the principal duties of a Tartar sovereign, and he who neglects them occasions discontent and rebellion.

---

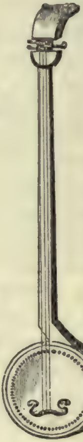
* Marsden, Notes on Marco Polo.

Falconry was a less important but not less favourite pastime of the emperor, who kept a great number of falconers in his train, and very frequently went out with them in pursuit of cranes and pheasants; on which occasions he was always carried in a richly-ornamented pavilion on the back of an elephant.

When the sporting season was over, it was customary for the whole court to repair to a city of Tartary, where the emperor had a palace, with an extensive park and pleasure-grounds; and to this summer residence he was accompanied by the empress, and all his other wives, for he had many, although only one of them enjoyed the dignity and title of empress. This favoured lady was surrounded with as much state as her lordly husband, having no less than 300 female slaves to attend upon and amuse her, for which purpose many of them had been taught music and dancing, according to the custom of the East; and besides these damsels there were elderly females, whose occupation it was to relate entertaining stories to the empress and ladies of the court, amongst whom reading was then an art unknown.



Violin.



Guitar.

It was by resorting to the cool, bracing, upland plains, or steppes of Tartary, and by the exercise of hunting and hawking, that the first princes of the Tartar line escaped the enervating effects of the hot climate of China, and the easy, luxurious mode of living in the South. "It is worthy of remark," says Sir John F. Davis, "that of the scores of dynasties which have followed each other, all established themselves on the vices, luxuries, or indolence of their immediate forerunners. The present Mantchu race has already shown no unequivocal symptoms of degeneracy. The two greatest princes by whom it has been distinguished, Kang-hy and Kien-loong, sedulously maintained the ancient habits of their Tartar subjects, by frequent hunting excursions beyond the Wall, in which they individually bore no small share of the fatigue and danger. The late emperor, Kea-king, and the present one, have, on the other hand, been remarkable for their comparative indolence; and the reigns of both have exhibited a mere succession of revolts and troubles. The following is part of an edict issued by the reigning monarch in 1824:—'With reference to the autumnal hunt of the present year, I ought to follow the established custom of my predecessors, but, at the same time, it is necessary to be guided by the circumstances of the times, and to act in conformity to them. The expedition to Jeho (Zhehol) is also ordered to be put off for this year. It is an involuntary source of vexation to me: I should not think of adopting this measure from a love of ease and indulgence.' Since that date, however, the same course has been repeated under various pretexts. The Mantchu rule has already lasted much longer than the Mongol, and, from all present appearances, a bold Chinese adventurer might perhaps succeed in overthrowing it."*

Kublai Khan lived to the advanced age of eighty-three, and had ruled over the whole of China about eighteen years, when he died in 1294, and was succeeded by his grandson, Timur.

The empire of the Mongols had now attained its utmost magnitude. It extended from the Chinese sea and the Indies to the northern extremity of Siberia, and from the eastern shores of Asia to the frontiers of Poland in Europe; and all this vast portion of the globe was governed by princes of the family of Zinghis, who were all vassals of the Great Khan, or Emperor of China. The chief of these were the Khans of Persia, Zagatai, and Kipzac, who were tributary to Kublai, but after his death they became independent sovereigns.

---

* "The Chinese."

The Chinese empire continued under the dominion of the Mongols about seventy-three years from the death of Kublai, and in that time eight princes of his family reigned in succession; not one of whom equalled their great predecessor in ability, although most of them were mild and beneficent rulers. Kublai had, with the wisdom of a superior mind, accommodated himself to the habits and prejudices of the conquered nation; but his successors, less politic, made innovations on the ancient form of government, and lost, by degrees, the confidence and affection of the Chinese, who are extremely jealous of the slightest interference with their established customs, and whose dissatisfaction at length began to exhibit itself by frequent insurrections.

During the whole of the Yuen dynasty, Buddhism was the religion favoured by the state; and so many of the bonzes, or priests of that sect, came into China, that the people found them very burthensome, as they were a mendicant race, who went from house to house asking alms. Many Buddhist temples were built in the reign of Kublai Khan, who was himself a devout professor of Buddhism; a faith which never possessed so much influence in China as during the sway of the Mongol emperors.

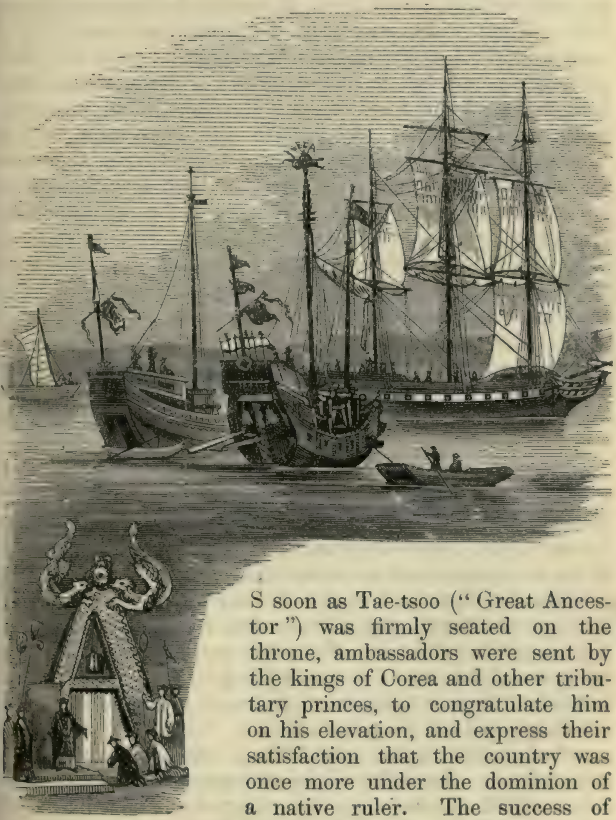
Shunty, the ninth and last sovereign of this race, ascended the throne in 1331, and reigned thirty-five years; or rather suffered his ministers to reign, for he himself was too indolent and fond of pleasure to take much share in state affairs. When the Tartars first arrived from their own wild deserts, they were a bold, energetic race of barbarians; but the ease and luxury in which they were enabled to indulge, in the genial climate of China, had softened their manners, and had thus destroyed the warlike character by which their ancestors had gained possession of the country, and by which alone they could hope to retain it. Shunty neglected the annual hunts and the practice of every manly exercise and every manly virtue. He was stained with all the vices which usually adhere to the representative of a worn-out, decaying dynasty—he was voluptuous, indolent to excess, timid, a coward, and yet a sanguinary tyrant. After several insurrections against him had failed, a revolution was commenced, which was attended with full success, and which placed the empire of China once more under the dominion of native princes.

There was a poor labourer in the province of Nanking, who had a son named Choo, a lad whose constitution was so delicate that he was quite unfit for hard work; his father therefore placed him in one of the monasteries, to be brought up by the bonzes, with a view to his becoming a member of that order. The boy, however, had no taste for so inactive a life, and growing stronger as his years increased, he enlisted as a common soldier in the imperial army, in which capacity he distinguished himself so highly on two or three different occasions, that he was promoted, step by step, till he had attained to a high rank; when he married a widow of fortune and influence, whose family was among those who were disaffected towards the Tartar government. Choo soon imbibed similar principles, and took the lead in a formidable insurrection that broke out in the province of Nanking, or, as it was then called, Keang-nan. The many changes of name that have occurred in the provinces and cities of China have caused great confusion in the geographical history of the country, and made it very difficult, in some cases, to identify even places of importance. However, as soon as it was known that the famous General Choo was at the head of the insurgents, the whole province was speedily in arms, the capital having already declared for the rebel chief, who met and defeated the imperial forces. The numbers of the rebel army increased daily; the most considerable cities opened their gates to them, and at length Peking itself was taken, and Shunty, with his family, fled into Tartary, leaving his capital in the undisputed possession of the victor, who was proclaimed Emperor by the title of Tae-tsoo, in the year 1366; and this was the commencement of the Ming dynasty, which was displaced about three hundred years afterwards by the present reigning family.

It is reasonably conjectured by not a few recent writers and investigators, that China reached the very highest point of her grandeur, order, and civilisation under Kublai Khan, at the close of the thirteenth century; that there has been no remarkable progress in anything since that period, whilst in many particulars there has been an evident deterioration, decline, and decay. The pictures of Marco Polo, collectively, do, indeed, present a vast, most populous, prosperous, and well-governed nation, highly refined and civilised, as compared with the very best countries in Europe at that period, and far exceeding them all in extent, unity, and consolidation. We have insisted on the authority of Marco Polo, and not without reason. So high did he rise in the estimation and favour of the liberal-minded Kublai, who, unlike the sovereigns who preceded and followed him on the throne of China, readily employed Arabians, Persians, and other foreigners, that when a member of one of the high tribunals was unable to proceed to the government of a city to which he had been nominated, the emperor sent the young Venetian in his stead. Marco mentions this honourable event of his life in the most modest manner, and only incidentally while describing the said city, which was Yang-cheu-fu, in the province of Keang-nan, a place then of great importance, and celebrated for its manufacture of arms and all kinds of military accoutrements.

In another chapter the Venetian says, "Marco on his part, perceiving that the Grand Khan took a pleasure in hearing accounts of whatever was new to him respecting the customs and manners of people, and the peculiar circumstances of distant countries, endeavoured, wherever he went, to obtain correct information on these subjects, and made notes of all he saw and heard, in order to gratify the curiosity of his master. In short, during seventeen years that he continued in his service, he rendered himself so useful, that he was employed in confidential missions to every part of the empire and its dependencies; and sometimes also he travelled on his own private account, but always with the consent and sanctioned by the authority of the Great Khan. Under such circumstances it was that Marco Polo had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge, either by his own observation or by what he collected from others, of so many things, until his time unknown, respecting the eastern parts of the world, and which he diligently and regularly committed to writing, as in the sequel will appear."

THE NATIVE MING DYNASTY.



As soon as Tae-tsoo ("Great Ancestor") was firmly seated on the throne, ambassadors were sent by the kings of Corea and other tributary princes, to congratulate him on his elevation, and express their satisfaction that the country was once more under the dominion of a native ruler. The success of Tae-tsoo and his excellent government are attributed in great measure to the prudent counsels of his wife. The new emperor chose Nanking for his capital, and erected Peking into a principality, which he bestowed on one of his sons, Yong-lo, who, when he became emperor, again removed the court from Nanking to Peking, the latter city being better situated for keeping in check the Tartars, who were constantly at war with the Chinese after the fall of the Mongol dynasty. Tae-tsoo began his reign by restoring those institutions which had been disregarded since the time of Kublai Khan, whose successors had broken in upon one of the most important usages of the Chinese government, by placing military men in all the chief offices of state, which, under Kublai, had been filled by the learned. This was one of the innovations that had led to the revolution, and was among the first grievances redressed by the new emperor, who restored the literary mandarins to their former rank and influence, and granted great privileges to the Hanlin College. He made several new regulations intended to promote the happiness of the people, and among others, that women should not devote themselves as priestesses to the religion of Buddha, and that no man should enter a monastery till he was forty years of age; for Tae-tsoo knew by experience that young people sometimes were induced to adopt a life of seclusion before they were old enough to judge whether it was exactly suited to their dispositions, and were thereby doomed to many years of misery and regret.

Tae-tsoo reigned thirty-one years, and having lost his favourite son, appointed his grandson, a boy of thirteen, to succeed him, which gave great offence to one of his sons, Yoong-lo, who raised an army at Peking, and placing himself at its head, marched towards Nanking, to demand from his nephew the surrender of the throne. He was opposed by the imperial troops, and a battle ensued, in which many were killed on both sides; but the cause was still undecided, when the gates of the city were opened by a traitor. The assailants instantly rushed into the town, put many of the inhabitants to the sword, and set the palace on fire. The youthful emperor perished in the flames, and Yoong-lo took possession of the vacant throne. Some of the ministers were condemned to death, others killed themselves, while many of the mandarins, who expected to be punished for their adherence to the cause of the late unfortunate prince, shaved their heads and assumed the sackcloth habit of the bonzes, and thus disguised were not recognised.

Although the new emperor had obtained the throne by cruelty and violence, he was not a bad sovereign, but, on the contrary, exhibited great moderation and justice in many acts of his government. He removed the court to Peking, which has been the imperial residence ever since; but he established separate tribunals at Nanking, which city was occupied and governed by his eldest son.

It was in this reign that the great Tartar chief Timour, or Tamerlane, as he is more generally called, whose conquests almost equalled those of Zinghis Khan, being ambitious of adding China to the vast dominions he had already acquired by a long and successful course of warfare, set out with the intention of invading that empire; but, happily for the Chinese, he died on the way (A.D. 1405), and the expedition was abandoned. From time to time, however, the Tartars renewed their invasions in the hope of recovering the empire, and were a terrible scourge to those provinces which bordered on Tartary. When there happened to be a powerful prince at the head of the state they were kept in check, but whenever the government was weak they did not fail to turn that advantage to account; so that the Chinese were never entirely at peace during the whole period of the Ming dynasty, which lasted three centuries.

It was in the reign of this race that the rapid progress of navigation, which followed the discovery of America, first brought the ships of Europe to the shores of China. The Portuguese, who were the great navigators of the age, having made several voyages to India by the newly-discovered passage round the Cape of Good Hope, ventured still farther eastward in the year 1516, and were the first Europeans who reached the Canton river. Their vessels, despatched by Alfonso Albuquerque, the captain-general of Malacca, was under the command of a bold and adventurous Portuguese named Perestrello, who, however, did not pass the islands at the mouth of the river. His distinction was, being the first person who ever conducted a ship to China under a European flag. On his return to Malacca, Perestrello reported favourably of the country and its commerce. The very next year he was followed by a squadron of eight vessels, under the command of Perez de Andrade, who passed the islands, and sailed up the river. Some alarm was experienced at Canton on the appearance of strange vessels, of a form altogether new to the Chinese, who very naturally supposed an invasion was intended; consequently the squadron was presently surrounded by war-junks, and it was with difficulty that Perez de Andrade obtained permission to proceed up the river to Canton with two of his ships. The viceroy granted an audience; but while successfully negociating for a trade, the Portuguese captain received accounts that the rest of his squadron left near the mouth of the river had been attacked by pirates. Some of his vessels returned with cargoes to Malacca; the remainder sailed, in company with some junks belonging to the Loo-Choo islands, for the province of Fokien, on the east coast of China, and succeeded in establishing a colony at Ningpo. Shortly after this the Portuguese brought their families to that port, and established a profitable trade, not only with various parts of the Chinese coasts, but also with the islands which compose the empire of Japan—an empire then abounding with the precious metals and other valuable productions. But in the course of a few years the provincial government, provoked by their rapacity, piracy, and general ill conduct, expelled them from Ningpo; and thus the Portuguese for ever lost an establishment on the continent of China, in one of the provinces of the empire best adapted to the ends of European trade. It must honestly be admitted, that the conduct of their first visitors from the West was not calculated to give the Chinese a favourable opinion of Europeans; and that these Portuguese, with the subjects of some other nations of the West, who very soon followed them, were little better than buccaneers.

Among the early desperate adventurers from Portugal was Fernam Mendez Pinto, who, though frequently guilty of numerical exaggeration, by no means merits the ill names bestowed upon him by Cervantes and our own dramatist Congreve, for the bulk of his descriptions and adventures are indisputably true. Having been plundered by native pirates, Fernam Mendez and his comrades turned pirates themselves. These freebooters finally reached Ningpo, which was as yet in the hands of their countrymen, and which Fernam describes as a strongly-fortified settlement. They were received with "great affection and Christian charity;" prayers were put up for them in the church; they were visited and feasted by the richest and noblest of the settlers, who assured them that the Chinese empire was in so unsettled a state that they might plunder and burn even the great city of Canton without danger or difficulty. Thirteen different princes were contending for the imperial crown, war was waging in all parts of the empire, and the Mantchu Tartars were coming. Before quitting Ningpo, Fernam's commodore, Antonio de Faria, furnished himself with a Portuguese priest or friar for each of his ships, in order that mass might be regularly performed at sea. The very devout Portuguese settled at Ningpo had learned from some Chinese that to the north-east there was an island, containing the tombs of seventeen Chinese kings, all made of gold, and surrounded by many idols, cast in the same precious metal. For a long time this island seemed to evade the pursuit of the Portuguese captain. At last, when his crew were in despair and mutinous, he hit upon the island, and upon some of the royal tombs. But, alas! the gold turned out to be only burnished brass or gilded copper. The marauders, however, burst open the graves, and there, among the dry bones of the dead, they found a great quantity of silver. A tempest followed them, as if in vengeance, and they were all shipwrecked in the bay of Nanking. Of the total number, only fourteen saved their lives by swimming. The people on the solitary coast were kind and hospitable, giving them rice to eat, and pointing out the way to a pagoda and hospital, where pilgrims could always find food and lodging. When questioned by the bonzes or priests at the hospitium, who they were and whence they came, the Portuguese said that they were natives of the kingdom of Siam, poor honest fishermen, who had been cast away; and hereupon they met with a most humane reception. When these bonzes, who were very poor, had entertained them two or three days, they sent them on to another hospitium, three leagues off, which was very rich. These places of refuge for pilgrims and for the poor of all classes were then very numerous in China, and they had been faithfully described by Marco Polo. Two months the shipwrecked pirates wandered through that immense province, begging in the villages, and avoiding as much as possible the great towns, for fear of being detected as Portuguese mariners. At last, in an evil hour, they entered the town of Taypor. There they were seen, as they were begging from door to door, by a sharp magistrate, who caused them to be arrested, loaded with chains and iron collars, and cast into a frightful prison, where one of them died. At the end of twenty-six days, they were embarked on a canal for the city of Nanking, together with twenty or thirty Chinese criminals and cut-throats. Almost as soon as they arrived at Nanking, which Fernam Mendez correctly describes as an immense and most populous city, the second in rank in the empire, they were examined by a very rigorous mandarin, who ordered them a terrible flogging on the bare back, which caused the death of two of them. Two more had been previously drowned in crossing an inlet of the sea. Some charitable bonzes attended the nine survivors, healed their wounds, and then procured that they should be sent on to the grand imperial court of appeal at Peking. The unhappy Portuguese ascended the grand canals, which struck them with astonishment. They were also charmed with the number of the bridges, and the magnificence of the pagodas, tombs, fountains, and arches of triumph. Fernam had also occasion to admire the tranquil manners of the Chinese, and the good order and industry that prevailed among them. Shortly after their arrival at Peking they were acquitted, or rather pardoned, by the supreme court, and liberated, with a free permission to go again a-begging. For two months and a-half they enjoyed this liberty in Peking, and amongst that countless population they found many charitable people. They were then sent to the city of Kinsai, where they were taken into the service of the governor, as part of his bodyguard. They were kindly and even liberally treated, until there happened a quarrel among themselves about a question of precedence, genealogy, and nobility, and a commotion and a scuffle — accompanied with bloodshed — which the Chinese laws have at all times held in great abhorrence. They were again well flogged or beaten with bamboos, and thrown into prison. After eight more weeks of captivity the governor took pity on them, and they were released, though only to be slaves in perpetuity, and under the doom that if they ever again quarrelled and fought among themselves, whether about the antiquity of their families or aught else, they would all be instantly scourged to death. Although their task-masters made them work very hard, they were still obliged to beg from door to door for their daily bread or rice. Luckily, one of them, Gaspar de Moreyles by name, was a very good musician, "playing the guitar and singing to it with a voice which was not a bad one; and this music was very agreeable to the richer sort of Chinamen, who pass their lives in banquets and the delights of the flesh; and so they called Gaspar in very frequently for their pastime, and never sent him away empty-handed." The minstrel generously shared the proceeds with his comrades. They were released from their present thraldom by the Mantchu Tartars, who captured Kinsai, carried them away with them, and very soon gave them good military employment, finding that they were brave and well skilled in the art of war. Beyond this point, the adventures of Fernam Mendez Pinto are but little connected with China.*

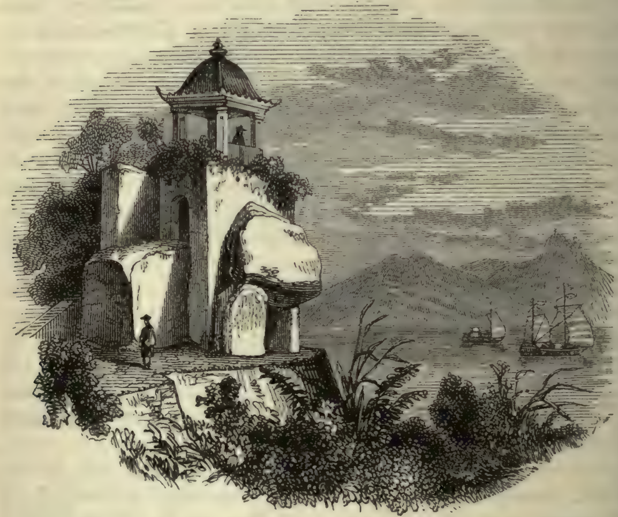
The first Portuguese embassy to Peking took place as early as the year 1520. It was headed by one Perez, who found the court in a fury at the depredations committed at sea by his countrymen. He was sent back under custody to Canton, the provincial government of which place showed its jealousy of any attempt on the part of strangers to communicate with the court. At Canton, Perez was robbed of his property, thrown into prison, and ultimately, it is supposed, put to death. "The various embassies," adds Sir J. F. Davis, "which have since followed in three successive centuries to Peking, have met with different kinds of treatment; but, in whatever spirit conducted, they have been equally unsuccessful in the attainment of any important points of negociation."

The year after that in which Perez started on his mission, his countryman, Alfonso de Melo, with six vessels, and in ignorance of what had taken place, arrived in China. He became immediately involved in fierce conflicts with the Chinese, who put to death more than twenty Portuguese prisoners that fell into their hands, and forced the squadron to retire.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, however, succeeded in establishing themselves at Macao, on a small peninsula near the mouth of the Canton river — the only European colony that, with very limited success, has been planted on the coast of China until our own days, and our recent war with the Celestial empire. It seems that the Portuguese had a temporary refuge on shore as early as 1537, being allowed to erect sheds for drying goods, which were introduced under the name of tribute. By degrees the foreigners were permitted to build some warehouses, for which privilege they paid an annual tribute and rent. They erected there, by degrees, a number of good houses, and the merchants who went to reside took with them their wives and families, which was contrary to the laws of the empire, but connived at by the mandarins, who probably derived some advantage from granting this indulgence. Macao was honoured by being the place of banishment of the great Portuguese poet, Camoens, parts of whose beautiful poem of the "Lusiad" are said to have been here written in a grotto which still bears his name, and which is represented beneath.

---

* C. Macfarlane, "Romance of Travel," vol. ii. chap. v.

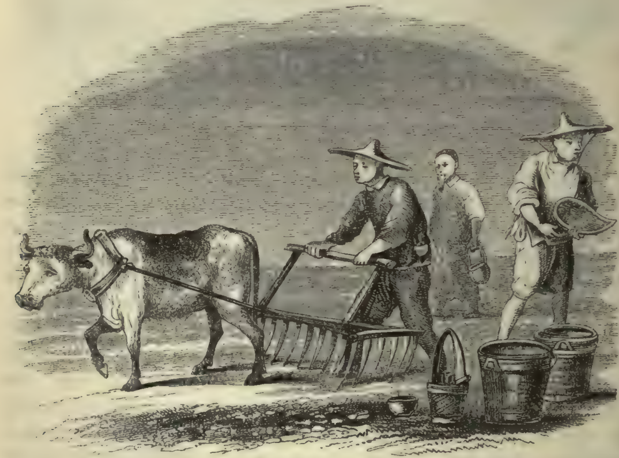


The new Portuguese town of Macao, being situated at the extremity of a small peninsula, joined by a narrow isthmus to the island of Meang-shan, the Chinese government caused a wall to be built across the slip of land as a barrier; for although the Chinese were not insensible to the advantages of foreign commerce, they adhered to their system of exclusion, and while they strictly prohibited the strangers from entering their cities, or even passing the bounds of their own settlement, they jealously watched all their proceedings. A mandarin was appointed at Macao, who governed the town in the name of the emperor, and whose duty it was to give information to his superiors of the conduct of the inhabitants.

Macao.

Not long after the Portuguese had opened a trade with China, the Spaniards began to send out ships to the Indian Ocean, and in the reign of Philip II. established a colony at Manilla (A.D. 1543), in the Philippine Islands, where they entered into commercial dealings with a company of Chinese merchants, who carried silks and porcelain thither for sale. But although they still possess the privilege of trading at Canton, as well as at Macao and at Amoy, the Spaniards have derived less advantage from an intercourse with the "Middle Kingdom" than most other nations, notwithstanding the vast advantage they have in the locality of Manilla, which is within a few days' sail of China, and approached with equal facility in either monsoon. But if these ultra-devout people did not grasp the commercial advantages within their reach, they paid every attention to the propagation of their faith: Manilla, in no time, was well stocked with churches and religious houses, and with monks; and of these last, two (said to have been of the Augustine order) were sent over to convert the Chinese (A.D. 1570).

The appearance of foreigners in a Chinese city was so rare a sight, that the house in which they lodged was constantly surrounded by the populace, who mounted the walls and the house-tops to obtain a glimpse of the men from an unknown land. When they went out, sedan-chairs were provided for their accommodation; but they could scarcely make their way along the streets, in consequence of the crowds that were assembled to see them. They found the country through which they travelled extremely fertile and well cultivated, and the people, who were then generally employed in harrowing and seed-sowing, appeared to be in comfortable circumstances; but the strangers were so closely watched, that they had little opportunity of gaining much information respecting the real condition of the natives, or of visiting the interior of their abodes.



Chinese Harrow, and Mode of Harrowing.

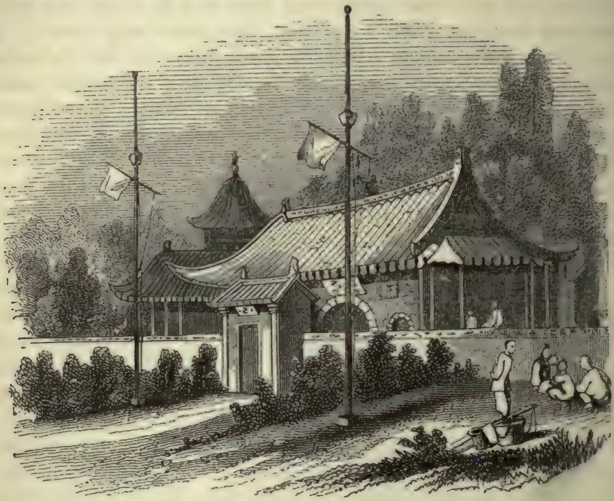
At length the Spaniards were informed that their visit had been sufficiently prolonged, and without having received a direct reply with regard to the object of their mission, they were politely escorted to Canton, where a bark was in readiness to convey them back to Manilla, and thus ended their hopes of propagating Christianity among the Chinese. Other attempts were made, with as little success, until the following century, when the Jesuits undertook missions to China. As they were in general more enlightened men than monks of other orders, and in the habit of mixing more with the world, they succeeded better than those who had gone before them. They commenced the great work they had in view in a very cautious manner, giving out that they were holy men from the West, who, having heard of the wonders of the Celestial empire, had come to finish their days in that celebrated land; and one of them gained the reputation of being a great astrologer, by constructing a sun-dial and an armillary sphere, which excited much admiration.

Having conciliated the good will of the natives they were permitted to remain, and when they had gained sufficient influence to make the attempt, they obtained leave to build a Christian church, and succeeded in making many converts.

Such was the state of affairs when Wanlie, the thirteenth emperor of the Ming dynasty, ascended the throne of his ancestors, in the year 1571. Wanlie is highly spoken of in Chinese history as being just, wise, and benevolent, and altogether as a prince of an excellent disposition. It was he who caused to be published every three months, for the convenience of the public, a book containing the name, rank, and native city of every mandarin in the empire—a custom that has been continued ever since. It is called the Red Book, we suppose from the colour; red having some important bearing in connexion with that distinguished class: for instance, there are before the portals of every mandarin's mansion, two high poles, which are uniformly painted red.

There are nine degrees of rank among the mandarins, and alterations are continually being made among their body, either by the degradation of some to a lower or the elevation of others to a higher grade, as well as by the appointment of new magistrates, and the admission of fresh candidates after every examination. The nobility is therefore, in fact, a constantly fluctuating body, and the Red Book is a sort of Court Calendar, corrected every three months, according to the changes that have occurred.

The long reign of Wanlie was disturbed from its commencement by the irruptions of the Mantchus, whose power was fast increasing, while that of the Ming princes was as rapidly declining; and at length the Mantchu prince, Tien-ming, provoked by the oppressive conduct of some Chinese mandarins on the frontiers, formally declared war against the empire, and published a manifesto, stating his reasons for so doing.



A Mandarin's Mansion.

Just at this juncture Wanlie died, and was succeeded by his grandson, Hi-tsong, who reigned only seven years, during which the war was continued with varied success, and was still undecided when the last of the Chinese sovereigns, Whey-tsong, ascended the throne, in the year 1627.

The late emperor, Hi-tsong, and the Tartar king, Tien-ming, died within a few months of each other, the latter being succeeded by his son Tien-song, who prosecuted the war against Whey-tsong with a view to the conquest of the empire. The whole country was now in a most dreadful state of anarchy, for the regular troops being all engaged in the contest with the Tartars, there were none to stop the progress of rebellion, which began to show itself in all the provinces. Several daring chiefs raised revolts, and collected large armed bands, with which they ravaged the country and plundered the cities with impunity; nor had the magistrates any power to prevent such outrages by enforcing the laws, which they could only do by military aid.

The boldest of the insurgent leaders, whose name was Li Kong, even aspired to the imperial dignity, and having raised an immense army, he made himself master of the provinces of Honan and Shen-see, where he secured his authority by putting to death the principal mandarins of the cities, and freeing the people from all taxes and contributions. The support of the commonalty being thus gained, he marched towards Peking, the capital, sending several of his party before him disguised as merchants, who went into the city, where they hired shops, and carried on trade till an opportunity offered for executing their project, which was to gain over some of the soldiers of the guard, and by their assistance to open the gates to the rebel army. All happened according to their wishes; and the night on which the treacherous soldiers were to keep guard was fixed for the entrance of Li Kong and his troops, who on the gates being opened rushed into the town, and commenced a furious attack on the palace. The mandarins fled in dismay; the guards of the palace went over to the enemy; when the unfortunate emperor, seeing no other means of escaping from the foe, stabbed his daughter with his own hand, and then put an end to his own existence. The young lady was carried off by a faithful slave, and having survived the effects of the blow, was afterwards married to a Chinese grandee; but the empress, and many ladies of the court, dreading nothing so much as falling into the hands of the rebels, killed themselves in despair.

The triumphant chief caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and taking possession of the palace, proceeded to exercise the sovereign authority, to which the people of Peking and the northern provinces universally submitted; but one of the Chinese generals, Woosankwei, who still had an army under his command, held out with determined bravery, and fortified himself in a city on the confines of Tartary, which was speedily besieged by the usurper, whose cruelties had already made him hateful to all except his own soldiers. Enraged at the opposition of Woosankwei, the tyrant caused the aged father of that general to be brought, loaded with chains, under the walls of the city, and sent word to the general, that if he did not surrender the old man would be instantly put to death; on which the unhappy son appeared on the wall, and on his knees, whilst the tears streamed down his face, received the commands of his venerable parent never to acknowledge the base usurper as his sovereign. Scarcely had the father uttered the words, when his head was severed from his body: a sad sight for the eyes of a son, whose filial affection was of that deep character so frequently met with among the Chinese.

Woosankwei had now a double cause for vengeance—the death of his prince and the murder of his father. He therefore made peace with the Mantchu Tartars, and, aided by them, soon expelled the usurper from the capital. The Tartar prince determined to keep to himself the throne which he had won; and he was so well received at Peking, where the unwarlike Chinese hailed him as a deliverer, and he conducted matters with so much dexterity and prudence, that he found scarcely any difficulty in assuming the sovereignty and being proclaimed emperor. Scarcely, however, had he been invested with this high dignity, than he was seized with a fatal disorder, of which he died in a few days, having named as his successor his son, Shun-che, a child only six years of age, whose uncle was appointed to govern as regent during his minority.

Such (A.D. 1644) was the revolution that placed the present imperial family of the Mantchu Tartar race on the throne of China: but some years elapsed before the whole country was brought under submission to a foreign ruler; for although the provinces of the north, which had been disgusted by the tyranny of the usurping chief, had not hesitated to bestow the title of emperor on a Tartar, some of the southern cities supported the claims of the native princes, and a long civil war ensued, during which the loyalists kept possession of the south, and two or three princes of the Ming family were successively proclaimed emperors of Nanking, and held their courts in that city.

The Chinese general, Woosankwei, was raised to a very high rank, and a principality was bestowed on him, with the government of one of the principal cities of Shen-see. The fate of the usurper, Li Kong, was never known, but it was generally supposed he was killed in some engagement with the Tartars.

It was during the reign of the last of the native Chinese dynasty of Ming, and the troubles which ended in the overthrow of that ancient family, that the Dutch first put in their hands for a share of the productions and trade of China, and that English vessels first appeared in those waters.

The Dutch, who had recently emancipated themselves from the Spanish yoke, were at this time at war both with the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The fierce conflicts between these three nations, who waged war by land as well as by sea, who almost invariably fought wherever they met, and who paid very little respect to the neutrality of the bays and harbours of China, were certainly well calculated still farther to estrange so peace-loving and timid a people as the inhabitants of the Celestial empire. And worse followed. Having defeated several Portuguese armaments, the Dutch captured Malacca, the Spice Islands, and other places, and in the year 1622 they attacked the Portuguese settlement at Macao, on the Canton river, with a squadron of seventeen ships. Being repulsed, with the loss of their admiral and about three hundred men, the Dutch retired, and established themselves on the Panghu, or Pescadore Islands. Their occupation of this position was a source of great annoyance to the Chinese authorities, and to the Portuguese and Spaniards. According to the custom of those days the Dutch began to build a fort, and obliged the native Chinese to do their work, treating them all the while with great harshness and severity. Most of these unfortunate Chinese had been kidnapped or made prisoners by the Dutch in the course of their attacks on the coasts of the continent. The Chinese authorities offered the invaders a liberty to trade, if they would only move farther off, to the island of Formosa. In this rich and beautiful island, which has been shortly described in our introduction, the Dutch made a settlement in the year 1625, erecting Fort Zealand on its western shore. They interfered with the ancient laws and municipal institutions of the islanders, and otherwise acted precipitately and unwisely, thereby losing the good will of the people. They, however, did not neglect the moral and spiritual interests of the natives. In 1626 a Protestant minister, called by the old Dutch writers George Candidius, was appointed to labour among the people, and it is said that in sixteen months he had converted to the leading truths of Christianity more than a hundred of their head men. The work is reported to have been advancing rapidly, with an extending foundation of churches and schools, when the Dutch governors in India, fearful of offending the Japanese, among whom they had obtained a settlement, and who were then persecuting and exterminating the Portuguese Roman Catholics in Japan, restricted these benevolent labours, and discouraged the further conversion of the inhabitants of Formosa. These restrictions arose entirely out of the dread of losing the then profitable trade with Japan; and it must be admitted that, in many parts of the East, if the merchant has often paved the way for the missionary, the passion of trade, and love of lucre, have not unfrequently thwarted the best efforts made for religious conversion. During the struggles which ensued after the overthrow of the Chinese Ming dynasty, many thousands of families emigrated from the continent to Formosa; but so long as the Dutch remained on that island their trade with the Chinese was very limited.

The English, who were destined to have in after years so very large a portion of the Chinese trade, scarcely had a glimpse of success until the reign of Charles I. A very unfortunate attempt was made by Queen Elizabeth in 1596, when some English vessels, under the command of one Benjamin Wood, who bore letters from our great queen to the emperor, made sail for Canton; but the ships were lost on their way out, and thus a damper was cast on such English enterprises for the space of forty years. Under the reign of Charles I. another attempt was made to open a trade; and on the 28th of May, 1637, a small squadron of English ships, under the command of a Captain Weddell, passed the mouths of the Canton river, and anchored off Macao, being the first of our vessels seen at that place. The jealous Portuguese intrigued against us, and so did the Jesuit missionaries. As for the Celestials, our acquaintance with them commenced with a collision and a fight; the Chinese treacherously fired upon our ships, upon which Weddell and his men knocked their fort about their ears, killed and wounded a good many of them, and then took as lawful prizes several of their trading junks. This energetic conduct, however, had such an effect on the natives, that Weddell was soon allowed to purchase and take in full cargoes.

There was another lull in our ultra-eastern enterprise, which lasted twenty-seven years, and which was occasioned in part by our great civil wars, and in part by the wars we were waging with the Dutch, whose naval force in the Eastern seas was at that time far superior to our own.

Until quite recently (during our war with the empire, which ended in 1843) the French, though at times very active in the neighbouring countries of Cochin-China and Siam, have never sent a formal mission to Peking, or made any strenuous efforts to obtain trade; yet the missionaries of their nation have made Europeans better acquainted with China, and given the Chinese more knowledge of Europe, than those of any other country.

Shield.

THE MANTCHU DYNASTY.

SHUN-CHE, FIRST EMPEROR, FROM 1644 TO 1662.

AMA VAN, regent of the empire and uncl of the youthful emperor, engaged excellen tutors for his royal nephew, who not onl instructed him in the literature of th country, but instilled into his mind suc principles as were likely to fit him for th government of the conquered nation. Under the care of these able monitors, he learned to be just an moderate towards the people over whom the fortune of wa had placed him; and being naturally well-inclined, he a tained to manhood with just such principles as were best calculated to reconcile the Chinese to foreign dominion.

While Shun-che was pursuing his studies, the regent and his generals were engaged in reducing the southern part of the country to subjection; and all the finest provinces were devastated by the long and fearful contest. Many of the great cities were laid in ruins; for wherever the Tartars met with resistance they set fire to the houses, and demolished all the public buildings, except the Buddhist temples.

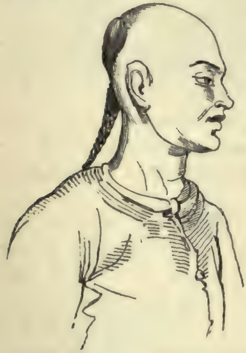
The traces of this war are still visible in China, where many an empty space is bounded by a dilapidated wall, that once surrounded a populous town, but now encloses only a few market-gardens; and some of the chief cities are not much more than half their original size, as may be seen by the extent of their walls, which at present encompass large spaces of ground where no houses are remaining, and which are usually devoted to the culture of vegetables for food. A great part of Nanking, with the imperial palace, was destroyed at this time; and there are now within its walls, orchards, fields, garden-grounds, and scattered farm-houses, not above one-third of the area being occupied by the present city.

One of the most formidable opponents of the Tartars was a maritime chief, or pirate, known by the name of Koshinga, a noted character in the history of the period, not only for his loyalty to the Chinese royal race, but also for his exploits against the Dutch, who had by this time considerably increased their Indian trade, and had strengthened their settlement in the island of Formosa.

Ching-che-loong, the father of Koshinga, one of the richest merchants in China, had, in the early part of the war, fitted out a fleet at his own expense to support the native princes; but after the accession of Shun-che he accepted the offer of a high post at court, leaving the command of his fleet to his son, Koshinga, who, instead of following the example of his father, remained faithful to the cause of the legitimate princes. This chief was the terror of the Indian seas, where no foreign vessels dared to appear during the wars, so that all trade was for a long time suspended. At length the Tartars, having taken Nanking, laid siege to Canton, which, by the aid of Koshinga's fleet, was enabled to hold out for eight months; but was at the end of that time obliged to surrender, and the last prince of the Ming family fled to the court of the King of Pegu, where he was received with the greatest hospitality.

Every place of importance having now submitted to the conquerors, the new government was acknowledged throughout the empire; and shortly afterwards, on the death of the regent, Shun-che, although only fourteen years of age, took the government into his own hands (A.D. 1652). The young sovereign, who no doubt acted by the advice of prudent and experienced ministers, suffered the Chinese to retain all the rights and immunities they had enjoyed under their native rulers; but as he found it necessary to satisfy his Tartar subjects also, by admitting them to a share of the honours and emoluments of the empire, he doubled the number of officers of state and members of councils, making one half Chinese and the other half Tartars, a regulation which continues to this day.

The Chinese, however, were required to submit to one mark of subjection, that was far more obnoxious and spread more general discontent among them than any changes that could have been introduced into the form of government. This was, that they should divest themselves of the thick raven locks, which they had been accustomed to cherish with peculiar care, and adopt in their stead the frightful Tartar fashion of wearing a long plaited tail hanging from the crown of a bald head The hair is an ornament highly prized by most people; and as Nature had been especially bountiful to the Chinese in that particular, they were extremely reluctant to part with it; and it is asserted that many chose to submit their heads to the executioner rather than to the barber, for that was the cruel alternative, as it was found impossible to enforce the decree by any gentler means than treating disobedience as rebellion and punishing the offender accordingly. The tails were thus fully established, and have been worn ever since; to the



great satisfaction, no doubt, of the barbers of China, whose services are in constant requisition among all classes of people, since the poorest mechanic must have his head shaved and his tail plaited as well as the most wealthy mandarin.

There were some few alterations made also in the national costume, but they were not very striking, nor would it be very easy for an English pen to describe them. With regard to the laws, the religion, and the system of government, the conquest produced no change, for the Tartar sovereigns governed, like their Chinese predecessors, according to the rules laid down in the ancient books; so that, although the Emperor of China is absolute lord of the lands and the people, he is in some degree restrained by the laws as well as his subjects. He has four chief ministers, two Tartars and two Chinese, who together with certain high officers of state form the imperial council; but the ordinary business of the government is conducted by a tribunal called the Li-pou, consisting of six boards, each of which has its particular department.

The Li-pou Courts are as ancient as the monarchy itself, having been instituted, according to the Chinese annals, by the famous Emperor Yaou; a proof at least that they were among the earliest institutions of this singular empire. The business of the first court, or Board of Official Appointments, is to take care that all offices under the government are properly filled, and that those to whom authority is entrusted shall use it with moderation, and discharge their several duties with punctuality. The members of this tribunal are responsible for the conduct of all the viceroys, magistrates, and civil officers of every description, and are obliged at stated periods to send in an account of their proceedings to the emperor; so that if any of them are guilty of misconduct, it is almost sure to be made known, and they are punished according to their misdemeanours Each governor of a province or city is obliged to send a report to the Li-pou once in three years as to the conduct of all magistrates under his jurisdiction, and also of any injuries done by himself to his poorer brethren when seated on the magisterial bench to dispense justice; and this statement is compared with that of others, who have perhaps been secretly keeping a watchful eye upon him: so that it is a dangerous experiment for a magistrate to attempt to conceal his own delinquencies, since they are almost certain to come to the knowledge of the Board, and he is then punished, not only for the offence, but also for the concealment. These regulations are intended to protect the people from oppression, and must certainly act as a check to an undue exertion of power on the part of the authorities, although they may frequently be evaded.

The second court, or Board of Finance, has the charge of the government revenues, and its members have to see that all taxes and duties are regularly paid into the imperial treasury and storehouses; some being collected in money, and others in kind. They make out orders for salaries and pensions, distribute the proper quantities of rice, silks, and money, that are allowed to princes and officers of state, and keep exact accounts of all that is received and expended by the government. The third Li-pou court is the Board of Rites, to which belongs the direction of all the customs and ceremonials observed among the Chinese; not only in public, but also in private life. This Board appoints the days for holding festivals and royal hunts; and for the performance of sacrifices, and all other religious rites. It regulates the costume to be worn by the different orders of the people; the etiquette of the court, as well as of private society; the reception of ambassadors; the entertainments given by the emperor; and, in short, it has the superintendence of all those outward forms and usages which in China are considered of so much importance. The fourth is the Military Board; and the fifth the Board of Punishments, which superintends the execution of the penal laws. The sixth court is the Board of Public Works, which is charged with the care of the roads, canals, bridges, temples, palaces, and all public buildings, its chief duty being to see that they are kept in repair throughout the empire.

During the Ming dynasty these tribunals were held both at Nanking and Peking; but Shun-che suppressed the courts at Nanking, and united the members with those at Peking, where all the business has since been transacted, each of the six councils having its own separate hall.

As soon as the Tartar prince was firmly seated on the throne, the Russian Emperor Alexius, the father of Peter the Great, sent an embassy to China, with a view to establish a commercial treaty between the two empires; but the attempt failed from a curious circumstance, and one that has since been a cause of dispute with the British government. It was a custom of the Tartar sovereigns to exact from all those over whom they claimed supremacy an act of submission, called the Ko-too, which consists in making nine prostrations, touching the ground each time with the forehead. This ceremony is equivalent to an acknowledgment of vassalage, therefore the Russian ambassador very properly refused to perform it, as it would not have become him thus to commit the dignity of his master, who was an independent as well as a powerful prince. The refusal of the envoy gave great offence to Shun-che, who, in consequence, declined receiving the embassy. But this was not the only point of disagreement between the two monarchs, for the Russians had taken possession of some territories in Siberia, which were considered as a part of Mantchu Tartary; and as they would not give them up, but, on the contrary, erected a fort there for the purpose of defending them, the Tartars commenced a war for their recovery, which was continued for a long time, the Russians still approaching nearer and nearer to China by new conquests, until at length the dominions of the Emperor of Russia actually joined the territories of China.

Not long after the failure of the Russian embassy, the Dutch, who were very anxious to open a trade with Canton, and establish a factory there, sent ambassadors (A.D. 1655) to the emperor, with a petition to that effect. They were very courteously received by the Viceroy of Canton, who accepted the presents they carried to him.

The Viceroy of Canton was a handsome young Tartar of prepossessing manners, who invited the Dutch envoys to dine with him, and entertained them in a very sumptuous style. They were received in the great hall of the palace by his mother, who had just arrived from Tartary, and, according to the habits of the Tartar ladies, made no scruple of appearing before strangers of the opposite sex. The dinner was served in the Chinese fashion, on a number of small tables, not covered with cloths, but ornamented with painting and gilding, at each of which two guests were seated. The meats were served in silver dishes, and the wine in golden cups; and during the banquet a party of actors, splendidly habited in the ancient costume of the country, performed a play at one end of the hall for the amusement of the company.

The Dutchmen were not a little surprised at the magnificence displayed by the Tartar governor, and departed highly gratified with the reception they had met with, and from which they augured favourably for their mission; but in this they were mistaken, for soon after, when they arrived at Peking, they were scarcely treated with common civility by the authorities there, who provided them with a miserable lodging, and very scanty entertainment, until the time was appointed for their audience.

The sovereigns of the East usually hold their levees at break of day; consequently the ambassadors, to their great annoyance, were conducted to the palace overnight and obliged to sit up in their state dresses, that they might be ready at the moment their attendance was required. Seated on the floor in an outer apartment, which was quite destitute of furniture, they had leisure to contemplate by the light of a few lamps a motley group of beings in the same uncomfortable situation as themselves, all waiting also for the honour of being admitted to the presence of the emperor. In one corner of the room was a barbarian envoy from a prince of the Southern Tartars, dressed in a long coat of sheepskin, dyed crimson, with large boots, bare arms, and a horse's tail dangling from his cap. Contrasted with this rough-looking personage was the ambassador of a Mongol Khan, who wore a blue silk dress, so richly embroidered that it looked like beaten gold; and very different from either of these was the representative of the Grand Lama, who was attired in a yellow robe, with a broad hat, like that worn by a cardinal, and a string of large beads round his neck. There were many other figures, all equally novel to the eyes of the Europeans, who were no less objects of curiosity to the strangers.

At length the welcome dawn appeared, when on a given signal all started up, and shaking off the weariness that had oppressed them, followed the officials, whose business it was to conduct them to the hall of audience. This hall is of white marble, the entrance to which is by five flights of steps; the middle flight being reserved exclusively for the emperor, and never profaned by the foot of any other person. Here a scene of extraordinary pomp and splendour exhibited itself to the astonished eyes of the plain and homely Dutchmen. The glittering dresses of the attendants; the gorgeous banners displayed by the soldiers ranged on each side of the hall; the superb throne, around which were held on high figures of the sun, made of gold, and silver circles representing the moon; with the crowd of officers and mandarins in their state robes, produced a most imposing effect.

The emperor had not yet made his appearance, but all the ambassadors were directed to prostrate themselves three times before the empty throne, and at each time of kneeling to bow down their heads to the ground three times till their foreheads touched the marble flooring. This was the very ceremony the Russian envoy had refused to perform; but as the Hollanders were extremely anxious for the success of their embassy, they did not think it prudent to make any scruple about the matter, and went through the ko-too with a good grace. The sound of bells soon announced the approach of Shun-che; all present fell on their knees as he ascended the steps, every eye being bent towards the earth, as if none were worthy to look upon him. He walked up the hall with a stately air, and seated himself on the throne, when the whole assembly arose, and the different envoys were led forward to do him homage by a repetition of the nine prostrations; but not a single word, nor even the slightest mark of notice, did the haughty Tartar vouchsafe to the disappointed Europeans, who withdrew with no very kindly feelings towards a prince before whom they had humbled themselves to so little purpose. Both the Tartars and Chinese had, in fact, a great contempt for the Dutch people, in consequence of having learned that there was no emperor or king of Holland; for they did not understand the nature of a republic, but thought the Dutch must be a very poor and mean nation, that could not afford to maintain a king. However, before the ambassadors quitted Peking, they were officially informed that they might come to China once in eight years, to bring presents, but not to trade.

The presents brought by ambassadors were received as a kind of tribute, and acknowledgment of vassalage; and thus the Chinese have imbibed the absurd notion that all the countries of Europe, from which embassies have been sent to the Emperor of China, are subject to him, and they are only now beginning to discover their mistake. It is scarcely possible to believe that the emperors themselves could have been under the same impression, although it was their policy to keep up the delusion among their subjects, who were taught to look upon them as absolute monarchs of the whole earth. Shun-che, especially, must have been better informed, since he had placed himself under the tuition of a German Jesuit, named Adam Schaal, for whom he entertained so great a respect that he raised him to the dignity of Chief Minister of State, and consulted him on every affair of importance: so that, however strange it may appear, the empire of China was for a time governed in reality by a Christian missionary. The emperor was so much attached to this excellent man, that he would often spend the whole day with him at his own house, in order to profit by his profound learning; and although he himself never became a convert to Christianity, he did not prohibit others from embracing that faith, and allowed two churches to be built at Peking, where several missionaries came to reside.

In the meantime the thousands of families who still preserved their attachment to the late dynasty, and had emigrated to the island of Formosa, remained there with the Dutch, who were in possession of a great part of the country. But they soon had cause to repent of having admitted the Chinese loyalists into the island, for their numbers rapidly increased to an alarming extent; and it was discovered that they were holding a secret correspondence with the maritime chief Koshinga, who persisted in his opposition to the new Tartar government of China. This discovery excited some apprehension on the part of the Dutch, whose fears were not without foundation; for Koshinga, who had formed the bold project of conquering the island, and setting himself up as an independent sovereign, landed with a force of 20,000 men, and being joined by the Chinese emigrants, demanded the surrender of the Dutch forts. A desperate conflict took place, in which the Dutch suffered very severely, and were obliged to retire within the forts, from which they sent a deputation to the camp of the invader to propose terms of accommodation: but Koshinga refused to make any terms, saying, that Formosa had always belonged to the Chinese, although they had allowed strangers to reside there; but that, as they now required it for their own occupation, the foreigners must immediately depart, as it was no longer convenient to let them remain. A regular warfare was then commenced for possession of the island, which lasted many months, when the Dutch were obliged to give up the contest, and betake themselves to their settlements in Java; on which Koshinga assumed the sovereignty in 1662, and was called by the Europeans, "King of Formosa." Great parties of Chinese loyalists from time to time left their country to place themselves under his protection, so that the number of his subjects was constantly increasing; and he made frequent descents on the maritime provinces of China guarded by the Tartars, who were much harassed by his attacks.

About the time that Koshinga achieved this conquest, the Emperor Shun-che died, at the early age of twenty-four, and was succeeded by his son Kang-hy, who was then only eight years old.

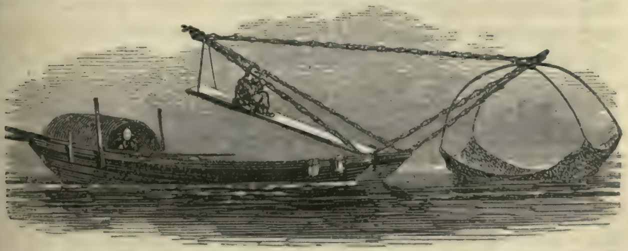
CHRISTIANITY PERSECUTED.

Kang-hy, from 1662 to 1722.

The new emperor, Kang-hy, was one of the greatest monarchs that ever ruled over the Chinese territories. Being so young when his father died, four of the ministers were appointed to conduct the government during his minority; but as they were all rather advanced in years, and strongly prejudiced in favour of the ancient usages of the country, they employed the authority with which they were entrusted to abolish the innovations made by the late emperor, and restore all things to their former state. Their principal cause of dissatisfaction was the toleration that had been granted to the Christians, which they feared might in time, if it were continued, be prejudicial to the ancient forms of manners, customs, and usages, which had endured for so many ages; and as this was in their eyes the greatest evil that could possibly befall the country, they used their best endeavours to prevent it, by putting in prison the good Father Adam Schaal, and another German Jesuit, called Father Ferdinand Verbiest, who had also stood high in the favour of Shun-che, and had been employed to assist Schaal in the affairs of the state. The two churches were then destroyed, and all who had professed the Christian faith were persecuted with the utmost severity, by fines, imprisonment, exile, and some even with death. In fairness to the Chinese it must, however, be mentioned in extenuation, that disputes which had arisen very shortly after their settlement in the country between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, and other missionary monks, had degenerated by this time into a most violent and unseemly quarrel, and that these teachers of Christianity had begun to set a woeful example of uncharitableness, malice, and contention. Precisely the same thing had happened a few years before in Japan, and had ended in causing the massacre of more than 100,000 Japanese. If the sagacious Jesuits had been left with the whole field to themselves, there is every reason to believe that the greater part of China would, long before the middle of the nineteenth century, have been converted to the Roman form of Christianity. The two Jesuits were, after a time, liberated; but the general persecution of the Christians was continued till the young emperor was of an age to take the government into his own hands. One of his first acts was to put a stop to the cruelties to which the Christian converts had been subjected; and he made amends to Father Verbiest for the sufferings he had endured, by raising him to the same rank which his father had bestowed on Adam Schaal, who had lately died of old age.

In the year 1692, Kang-hy issued a decree permitting the free exercise of the Christian religion, and putting it, with regard to privileges and immunities, on the same footing as Buddhism, which may be called the dominant, or most prevalent faith of the country; for the doctrines of Confucius, which were followed only by the most refined, were not a religion, but a code of morals and manners.

During the regency Koshinga had died; but his son had taken upon himself the government of Formosa, and as he inherited his father's hatred towards the Tartars, and was equally powerful at sea, he constantly ravaged the whole line of the south-eastern coast of China. The naval force of the empire not being sufficiently strong to contend with that of the pirate king, the government issued an order, that all subjects of the Emperor of China dwelling near the sea-shore should withdraw ten miles into the interior, so as to leave only a barren tract of country to the invaders. The inhabitants of the Portuguese settlement of Macao were the only persons exempted from the general order; probably because the government was indifferent about the safety of a foreign colony, particularly as the country beyond was defended by the barrier-wall that confined the Portuguese within certain limits. A great number of villages near the coast were entirely destroyed, and thousands of families who had lived by fishing were reduced to great distress by being obliged to remove from the vicinity of the sea. The fishermen, however, converted their boats into smaller ones, in which, with the assistance of their families, they could continue their occupation in more shallow waters. Each of these boats was furnished with a peculiar and ingenious contrivance. It consisted of a net suspended at the end of a bamboo pole; the latter, pro-



jecting from the boat somewhat like a bowsprit, was fixed on a pivot, by which it was moveable, and was also attached by means of ropes to a balance-board. The fisherman, as he wished to raise his net out of, or to sink it into the water, had only to walk either up or down the balance-board. This mode of fishing is still practised in many parts of the island of Hong Kong, and other places; but the nets in use are often of a large size, and are raised out of the water by means of ropes attached to wheels fixed on the shores. The expulsion of the inhabitants from the sea-coast produced the desired effect; for the Formosan chief, whose principal resources had been derived from plundering the maritime towns and villages, found his power decline with his means of acquiring wealth; and although he contrived, with some difficulty, to support his authority till his death, his son, about twenty years after the accession of Kang-hy, gave up his island in consideration of a title and a pension for life.

Formosa was thus united to the Chinese empire, and has proved a valuable acquisition, as it is extremely fertile, producing in abundance fruits, corn, and rice, of which large quantities are sent annually to China. The loyalists who had taken refuge there, having lost their leader, made submission to the Tartar emperor, and received a full pardon; but were obliged to shave their heads, like the rest of the nation.

Such of the poor islanders as did not flee to the mountains in the interior, where they rapidly degenerated into an almost savage condition, were compelled to adopt the dress and manners of the people of the continent. They were cruelly treated by the Chinese, because they had submitted to the Dutch and had adopted many European customs and notions. With more prudent management, and a few hundred more troops, the Hollanders might certainly have kept possession of Formosa.

But brief and, in some respects, unwise as was their dominion, the Dutch left behind them deep traces of their civilisation and religion. The Jesuit Du Halde, who wrote seventy years after their expulsion, and who was not likely to judge too favourably of them, says of the Chinese on the island,—"There are many who yet understand the Dutch language, who can read the books of the Dutch, and who in writing use their letters; many fragments of pious Dutch books are found amongst them." The same Romanist writer informs us that they adored no idols, and abominated every approach to them; but, unfortunately, he adds that they performed no act of worship whatever, and recited no prayers. The entire population of the island is at this day estimated at 3,000,000, which is as much as the population of Scotland, and more than that of several independent kingdoms on the European continent. Formosa has long been familiarly known as the granary of the Chinese maritime provinces, to which she stands in the same relation as Sicily did to ancient Rome. If wars intervene, or violent storms prevent the shipment of rice to the coast, a scarcity presently ensues, and extensive distresses, with another certain result, multiplied piracies, by the destitute Chinese. In addition to the rice, which annually employs in the coast trade alone more than 200 large junks, Formosa exports an immense quantity of sugar. Much of the camphor sold in the Canton market is also supplied by Formosa. Among the merchants of the island are men with very large capitals, and abundant commercial enterprise. The position of Formosa is admirable as affording facilities for trade; within 30 leagues of China, and 150 leagues of Japan, its situation and resources make it a desirable station for the commerce which is now opening, and yet to be opened, in those long-forbidden lands. But, unfortunately, except Ke-lung, there is no good harbour as yet explored on the whole coast. That portion of Ilha Formosa, or "Beautiful Island," which is possessed by the Chinese colonists, well deserves its name; the scenery is charming, the air wholesome, and the soil very fertile. The numerous rivulets from the mountains fertilise the extensive plains which spread below. All the trees are so nicely ranged, that when the rice is planted, as usual, in a line, and chequerwise, the vast plain of the southern part of the island resembles a garden. Almost all grains and fruits may be produced on one part of the island or another; but rice, sugar, camphor, and tobacco are the chief exports. It is curious to remark that, though lying opposite to the Chinese coast, and within one day's sail of the port of Amoy, Formosa does not appear to have attracted the notice of the Chinese government till a modern date. According to their history, they had no knowledge of it till A.D. 1430, when an officer of the imperial court was driven upon the island by a storm. A century after this date it is described as being uncultivated, and inhabited only by savages. According to recent accounts, some of these aborigines remain in a very rude condition: they occupy regions difficult of access and are wholly independent of the Chinese. They have no king or common head, but are ruled by petty chiefs and councils of elders, much like the poor remnants of the North-American Indians. They have no books, no written language. In their marriages, which are made by mutual choice, it is not the bridegroom that takes home the bride, but the bride that takes home the bridegroom, who lives in her parents' house, and returns no more to the house of his father; and therefore, it is said, they think it no happiness to have male children. They are of a slender shape and olive complexion; they wear long hair, blacken their teeth, and tattoo their skins; they are said to be honest and frank among themselves, but excessively vindictive when outraged. They, no doubt, belong to the Malay race; but we cannot find, either among the Malays or any other people, their remarkable regulations as to married life. In the mountains they go clad in deer-skins. Some of them are more civilised, but these live in towns and villages in the plains or open country, and are completely in subjection to the Chinese, who make very good dependants but are very oppressive and bad masters. Hence there have been, and there still are, frequent insurrections and internal wars. The capital of the whole island of Formosa is called Tae-wan, and is described as ranking amongst cities of the first class in China, in the variety and richness of its merchandise, and in population.

Kang-hy, who acquired Formosa, was the prince to make himself very popular, for he was a great hunter, and thus acquired a high military reputation among the Tartars, who regarded hunting and war as pursuits equally honourable and important; and he gained the good will of the Chinese by honouring and rewarding literary merit, and by attending in person to the welfare of his subjects. Every year he made a progress through some of the provinces, to see that the magistrates performed their duties, and that the people were not oppressed by them. On these occasions the people of the cities usually made a grand display: as, for instance, on his visit to Nanking in 1689, triumphal arches were erected in all the principal streets, at the distance of about twenty paces from each other, gaily adorned with ribbons, silks, and fringes; and when he made his entry on horseback, with a numerous train of guards and gentlemen, he was met by a deputation from the citizens, bearing silken banners, canopies, parasols, and other ornamental ensigns used by the Chinese on great occasions. The streets were crowded with people as he passed along; but, although so many thousands were assembled, such was their habitual awe of majesty, that not even a whisper disturbed the solemn silence which prevailed.

From Nanking the emperor proceeded to the wealthy city of Soo-choo, which, from the beauty of its situation, the luxury of its inhabitants, and the circumstance of many of the streets being intersected with canals, on which pleasure-boats are continually gliding, has been called the Venice of China. Here the people laid down rich silks and carpets along the streets through which the royal train was to pass—a mark of respect that was highly pleasing to the emperor, who, instead of riding over them, as was expected, dismounted at the gate of the city, and desiring his whole suite to do the same, proceeded on foot to the palace. This little mark of consideration probably did more towards raising the monarch in the public estimation, than any of his greater acts; so easy is it sometimes, by an act of courtesy, for a sovereign to win the affections of his subjects. Another incident is said to have occurred during this progress, which may serve to show the summary mode in which justice was executed upon those mandarins who were found to have abused their authority.

Kang-hy, who was a little apart from his attendants, saw an old man sitting on the ground weeping bitterly. Riding up to him, he inquired the cause of his grief. "My lord," said the old man, who was ignorant of the rank of his interrogator, "I have cause enough for sorrow. My only son, who was the joy of my life, and the support of my declining years, has been taken from me to serve the governor of the province; and I have no one to comfort me in my old age, or to mourn over my tomb." The emperor asked if he had endeavoured to obtain some redress. "Alas!" replied he, "how is it possible for me, a poor weak old man, to force a great mandarin to do me justice?" "We will presently see that!" said the monarch: "get up behind me, and show me the way to this governor's house; perhaps it will not be so difficult to obtain justice as you may imagine." The poor man mounted as he was desired, and they forthwith rode to the mandarin's palace, where the imperial guards and a large party of grandees, who had missed the emperor, arrived just at the same time in great consternation. Kang-hy entering the palace, charged the governor with his violent conduct. The offender, not being able to deny the accusation, was condemned to lose his head, and the sentence was executed on the spot; when the emperor, turning to the old man, said, "To make you amends for the injury you have sustained, I appoint you governor of this province in the room of him who has proved himself so unworthy of that office. Let his crime and punishment be a warning to you, to use your power more justly."

It was during this reign that the Chinese learned the art of casting cannon, in which they were instructed by Father Verbiest, under whose inspection about 450 pieces of artillery were founded, to the great satisfaction of the emperor, who made a solemn feast under tents in the fields on the occasion of their being tried; his majesty and the court being lodged in an immense splendid tent, or temporary palace, containing a grand hall of audience, and other apartments, all lined with embroidered silks. Gunpowder had been known and made in China from a very early period, but it had only been used in the composition of fireworks, of which the Chinese always made a great display at their festivals; nor was it till the early part of the seventeenth century that they became acquainted with its application as an agent in warfare, when the Portuguese, during the war with the Mantchus, lent them three cannons for the defence of the city of Nanking, with men to manage them; and great was the surprise created by their deadly effects. The fame of Father Verbiest was considerably raised by the important service he had rendered to the state in furnishing it with artillery, and a title of honour was bestowed on him in consequence; besides which, he gained much credit and influence by reforming the calendar, which had been suffered to fall into such confusion that it was found necessary to leave out a whole month of one year to bring it into regular order. Yet the composition of the almanacs is considered an affair of so much importance, that it is the chief business of an assembly of learned mandarins, who compose what is called the Astronomical Board; and when the error in their calculations was discovered, the president was banished to Tartary for his incompetency to the duties of his office, and Father Verbiest was placed at the head of that department in his stead: for it is one of the singular features of the Chinese government to punish inability in office as a crime, on the ground that no man ought to undertake that which he is not able to perform; and on the same principle a military commander is sometimes disgraced in consequence of the loss of a battle, or the failure of an enterprise, in which he may have done his best to succeed.

The Astronomical tribunal is subordinate to that of the Board of Rites. The grand business of its members is to make the almanacs; and they have also to calculate the eclipses, and to present to the emperor at the end of every forty-five days an exact statement of the position of the heavenly bodies, together with the observations that have been made during that time. An eclipse is considered a great event in China. Some time before it takes place, notices are sent to the governors of every province and city throughout the empire, that they may prepare for the performance of the accustomed solemnities that are always observed on the occasion. Large printed bills are immediately posted on the public buildings, and orders are sent to the mandarins to assemble in the large halls appointed for that purpose, whither they repair on the morning of the given day, in their robes of ceremony, and take their seats at tables on which are said to be delineated all the eclipses that have happened for more than 4000 years.

The ceremonies observed on the occasion of an eclipse have somewhat of a religious character, and originated in ignorance of the causes of the phenomenon, which was anciently believed to be the forerunner of some dreadful calamity; and although the Chinese are now aware that the effect is produced by natural causes, they are too much attached to their old customs to discontinue them. The mandarins being assembled in the Hall of Astronomy, place themselves at the tables before mentioned, waiting for the commencement of the eclipse. The moment the sun or moon, whichever it may be, begins to be darkened, drums and gongs are sounded in the town, and the people all prostrate themselves, bowing their heads till their foreheads touch the earth, and in this position they continue as long as the orb remains shadowed; while some of the members of the Astronomical Board are at the observatory watching the progress of the eclipse, and noting down their observations, which are afterwards examined and compared with the computations made by the chief tribunal, and a report is transmitted to the emperor.

The distribution of the almanacs at the beginning of every year is also attended with many solemnities. There is no work in the world of which so many copies are printed as the Chinese calendar, the number being estimated at several millions; which is not improbable, considering the amount of population, and the fact that every family uses an almanac as an oracle: since, besides the usual information, it not only predicts the weather, but notes the days that are reckoned lucky or unlucky for commencing any undertaking; for applying remedies in diseases; for marrying or for burying; and, in short, it is consulted by the people in many cases where their own reason would be a better guide: but the government gives countenance to all superstitions that disincline the people from exerting their own reasoning faculties. The calendar is an imperial monopoly, and no other than that prepared by the Astronomical Board is allowed to be published, the law on this point being so strict that a violation of it would be punished with death. The almanacs are all printed at Peking, and are distributed through the empire in the following manner. On a certain day appointed for the ceremonial in the capital, the mandarins repair early in the morning to the palace, while the members of the Board, arrayed in their state dresses, proceed to their hall to escort the books, which are carried in procession to the imperial residence. Those which are intended for the emperor, the

empress, and the queens, are bound in yellow satin, and enclosed in bags of cloth of gold, which are placed on a large gilded machine, borne by forty footmen clothed in yellow. Then follow ten or twelve smaller vehicles, surrounded with red silk curtains, and containing the books to be given to the princes, which are bound in red satin, and enclosed in bags of silver cloth. These are followed by men bearing on their shoulders several tables, on which are piled the calendars intended for the grandees of the court and the generals of the army; the cavalcade is completed by the president and members of the Board in sedans, followed by their usual attendants. On arriving at the palace, the golden bags are laid on two tables covered with yellow damask, when the members of the tribunal, having first prostrated themselves, deliver them to the proper officers, who receive them kneeling, and carry them with great ceremony to the foot of the throne. The silver bags are sent in a similar manner to all the princes of the royal family; after which the ministers, and other great officers of state, present themselves in turn, and kneel with reverence to receive their almanacs, which are regarded as gifts from the emperor. The ceremonies of distribution at the Court being concluded, the books intended for the use of the people are sent by the tribunal into every province of the empire, where the forms observed at the imperial palace are repeated at the court of the head mandarin, after which the people are allowed to purchase their almanacs; and as this is a privilege of which few omit to avail themselves, the sale must be immense, and must largely add to the revenue.

The Chinese had many astronomical instruments at a very early period of their history; but they were greatly improved, and some new ones introduced, by the Jesuits, who certainly owed the extraordinary influence they once possessed in China to their inculcation of the arts and sciences most esteemed in that country. The first clocks and watches seen in China were presented to Kang-hy by one of the Jesuit fathers; and another member of the fraternity, to gratify the ladies of that emperor's court, constructed for them a camera-obscura, an instrument with which they were much delighted, as it enabled them to see what was passing outside the palace gates. In consequence of the encouragement received by the Jesuits, Christianity made greater progress in China during the reign of Kang-hy than at any period either before or since. Many persons of rank, both male and female, openly professed the Christian faith, and a church was built for their accommodation near the palace; besides which, several places of worship for Christians were erected in different parts of Peking, as well as in other large cities. Among these new edifices was a church, built by a French Jesuit named D'Entrecolles, at the famous village or town of King-tse-ching, where a great porcelain manufacture was then carried on; and there he made himself acquainted with the whole process of that beautiful art, which was first brought into Europe by him, when, on the death of Kang-hy, the Christian missionaries were obliged to quit the country. Among the Jesuits resident at this time in Peking was Père Gerbillon, a native of France, who was employed by the emperor on a mission into Tartary, the object of which was to negotiate a peace with the Russians, who had been at war with the Chinese ever since the rejection of their embassy by the late emperor Shun-che, who refused to acknowledge their right to the territories they had occupied in Mantchu Tartary.

The negotiations were successful; peace was concluded, and a trade established between Russia and China, by a treaty signed by the two emperors Alexius and Kang-hy in the year 1689. The boundaries of the Russian empire, which had been the ground of dispute, were precisely defined, and it was agreed that caravans should be sent at stated periods to Peking, and be allowed to remain there till they had disposed of their goods. A caravanserai in the suburbs was allotted for the residence of the merchants, and their expenses, while they remained, were to be defrayed by the Emperor of China. The trade thus conducted was a monopoly of the Russian government; but there were private merchants also who travelled to China, and transacted business on their own account with the Chinese merchants, at an annual fair held on the frontiers: but they were not permitted to proceed to Peking, like the government agents, nor even to enter the strictly Chinese territories.

The principal wars of Kang-hy, after the submission of Formosa, were with the Eleuth or Kalmuck Tartars, who had been a very numerous and powerful tribe, but were almost annihilated in the course of three years' warfare, by the victorious arms of the Chinese emperor, who by this conquest greatly extended his dominions in Tartary.* Before proceeding to extremities with the Eleuths, Kang-hy (in the year 1713) sent an embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, then settled on the north bank of the Caspian Sea. The Chinese wrote a curious account of the whole mission, which has been translated by the present Sir George Staunton from the original language. The details of the journey, with the emperor's own instruction for the conduct of his ambassador, are especially curious and interesting. To commemorate the glory of the war against the Eleuths, a French missionary made a series of clever drawings, and these were sent by the desire of the emperor to Paris, and there engraved on copper-plates. Sir J. F. Davis declares that these plates contain a very faithful representation of Chinese and Tartar costumes and court ceremonies, and are by far the best things of the kind in existence. In the year 1721, Kang-hy, then far advanced in years, celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of his accession to the throne, and as he was the first sovereign of China whose reign had been lengthened to this term, a grand jubilee took place on the occasion throughout the whole empire. *Sixty* is a number held in especial veneration among the Chinese, and the sixtieth birthday of any private individual is always celebrated with great festivities by the family; but the event of a monarch having arrived at that epoch of his reign, particularly one who was so much beloved and respected, was an especial cause of rejoicing; which was testified in the usual way by sacrifices to the gods, illuminations, feastings, fireworks, and a variety of amusements.

On all festive occasions in China, the sacrifices constitute an important part of the ceremonials, and as there are no priests of the order of Confucius, the emperor officiates as high-priest in the capital, whilst in all the other cities the viceroy or chief mandarin acts in that capacity. The greatest annual festival on which the sovereign appears in his sacerdotal character is that of the celebration of the season of spring, which takes place about the middle of February, and is one of those ancient observances that help to preserve the primitive character of the nation. It is then that the emperor performs the part of the husbandman, by ploughing and sowing seed in an enclosure set apart for that purpose near the palace — a ceremony never omitted by Kang-hy, who was very attentive to all observances that were held in reverence among the people. The day for the royal ploughing was fixed by the Board of Rites, and this ceremony was accompanied by many solemnities on the part of the emperor, and those who were to assist at the sacrifices; such as fasting for three days until the evening of each, and abstaining from all kinds of amusements during that period. Several princes were also deputed on the eve of the festival to visit the Hall of Ancestors, a temple dedicated to the memory of the imperial relatives who had departed this life, where many rites and ceremonies were performed before the tablets on which their names were engraven.

---

* The Eleuths had long given the Chinese great trouble in the regions about Thibet.

Early on the morning of the festival the emperor, attended by the great officers of state, repairs to the Temple of the Earth, where he makes sacrifices, and implores a blessing on the labours of the spring, that they may produce a plentiful harvest; and when these rites are ended he descends from the temple into the field, where all the requisite preparations have been made by forty or fifty husbandmen, who are in attendance. The emperor ploughs a few furrows with his own hand, and sows five sorts of grain; after which twelve grandees of the first rank plough and sow in turn, and then the work is completed by the professional husbandmen, each of whom receives a present of a piece of Nanking cloth. The produce of this field is held sacred, and carefully preserved in a granary by itself, to be used for the most solemn sacrifices. The ploughing by the Imperial husbandman takes place only in the capital, but in every large city a ceremony is performed called "meeting the spring;" when the governor assumes the character of high-priest, and goes out in state, carried in a finely-ornamented sedan-chair, preceded by banners, lighted torches, and music. He is followed by several mandarins in their sedans, and by a number of litters, in which are placed children, who are fancifully dressed and crowned with flowers, representing various deities connected with the labours of the field. But the most prominent figure among the *dramatis personæ* is a huge earthen buffalo, the representative of the spring, which is borne in procession to meet the high-priest, who delivers a lecture on the benefits of husbandry, which is one of sixteen discourses read annually to the people. At the conclusion of the lecture he strikes the buffalo three times with a staff, when it is immediately broken in pieces by the populace, and a number of little porcelain cows with which it was filled furnish materials for a scramble. The rest of the day is devoted to amusements, among which the most popular are plays performed by companies of strolling actors, who set up temporary theatres in the streets; the expenses being paid, on this occasion, by the government.

It is thus, according to the Jesuits, that the rulers o China, both by precept and example, stimulate their subjects to the pursuits of agriculture, so essential to the support o the empire. The intention of these ceremonies is obviously to countenance that superiority in point of rank which the farmers and manufacturers have invariably held over those engaged in mercantile pursuits; for the rulers of China, from the earliest period to the present, have always deemed it better policy to make the empire entirely dependent on its own resources for food and clothing, than to obtain those necessaries or add to its wealth by foreign trade, which has hitherto been only tolerated, and never encouraged by the government.

But here, again, we are describing a state of things which must be said to be past and gone. From numerous recent authorities, and more particularly from that excellent, most useful periodical publication, the "Chinese Repository," we learn that this great agricultural celebration has dwindled into an empty show, that only the most puerile parts of the ceremony are performed, that the emperor is generally represented by proxy, and that even the mandarins, instead of putting their own hands to the plough, are generally represented by inferior substitutes, who help to turn the whole thing into a mere mockery.

In very few instances are the pictures drawn by the Jesuits and other old writers to be taken as faithful representations of China, its government and people, as they now are; in still fewer are we to expect that the ancient laws, rescripts, and regulations, are, to the very letter, carried out in practice. The theory of this great emperor, Kang-hy, was set forth by himself in the celebrated book called the "Sacred Edict; or, Sixteen Maxims." "Give," said he, "the chief place to husbandry and the culture of the mulberry-tree, in order to procure adequate supplies of food and raiment. Of old time the emperors themselves ploughed, and their empresses cultivated the mulberry-tree: though supremely honourable, they disdained not to labour; and they did labour, in order to excite by their example the millions of the people. Suffer not a barren spot to remain a wilderness, or a lazy person to abide in the cities. Then the farmer will not lay aside his plough and hoe, or the housewife put away her silkworms and her weaving. Even the productions of the mountains and marshes, and the propagation of the breed of poultry, swine, and *dogs*, will all be regularly cherished, in order that food may be supplied in their season, to make up for any deficiency of agriculture." Kang-hy, among his sixteen maxims, also insists on the necessity of magnifying academical learning, and of providing amply for district colleges, academies, and schools, for the common people. No one was to be left uninstructed; no school was to be left in poverty and neglect. At present, though the schools, both public and private, are rather numerous, they are exceedingly poor; and it is calculated that not less than two-tenths of the male, and nine-tenths of the female population, are utterly destitute of instruction. The emperor, in the strongest terms, denounced idolatries, and called the god Buddha an avaricious, unfilial scoundrel; yet the Chinese are as prone to idolatry as ever they were, and the number of Buddhists appears to have been on the increase. But if he hated all manner of idol-worshippings, or what he called "new religions," Kang-hy himself had very little respect for the religion taught by the European missionaries. "Even this sect," said he, "who talk about heaven and prate about earth, and of things without shadow and without substance, their religion, also, is unsound and corrupt. But because the teachers of this sect understand astronomy, and are skilled in mathematics, the government employs them to correct the calendar. This, however, by no means implies that their religion is a good one. You should not, on any account, believe them. The law is very rigorous against all these left-hand-road and side-door sects. Their punishment is determined in the same way as that of the masters and mistresses of your dancing gods, or your male and female conjurers." According to the emperor's strange system, every family had two living divinities, father and mother, and, therefore, it was unnecessary to go in quest of other gods, or to worship on the hills, or to travel far to burn incense, or to pray to idols or to gods for happiness. In his wisdom he decreed that robbery and theft should be for ever extirpated; yet theft, robbery, piracy, and murder appear to have multiplied reign after reign, if not day by day.

The Sacred Edict was amplified by Kang-hy's son and successor, who, by statute, enjoined that it should be proclaimed, with great form and ceremony, throughout the empire, on the first and fifteenth of every month. Before the commencement of the reading, all present performed the ko-too.

Kang-hy endeavoured, with the assistance of the Jesuits, to make some improvements in the arts and sciences of China, especially in that of medicine, which has always been in a most deficient state ; but the prejudices of the Chinese with regard to the dissection of human bodies is so strong that, although several books on the subject of anatomy were published under the patronage of that enlightened emperor, the study was never prosecuted to any advantage ; and so little is yet understood of the medical art, that the greater portion of the Chinese people put more faith in spells and charms, than in any remedies derived from professional science, and place very little reliance on the efficacy of a medicine, unless it be taken on a lucky day. Kang-hy died in the year 1722, having ruled over the Chinese empire sixty-one years,—the longest reign recorded in the history of China, since the fabulous times.

The sovereign power had never been greater or more absolute than during this period, nor had it ever been equalled, except while the sceptre was swayed by the powerful hand of Kublai Khan. Besides extending his dominions by his conquests over the Eleuths, Kang-hy obliged the Mongols to remove three hundred miles beyond the Great Wall, where he gave them lands and pastures, while he settled his own subjects of the Mantchu race in the provinces they had vacated ; thus uniting to China a large extent of territory without the intervention of a foreign nation. The Mongols, however, are still a constant source of uneasiness to the Chinese government, and are watched with the utmost jealousy by the Mantchus, whom it is well known they heartily detest as the usurpers of that empire, once so gloriously ruled by their own princes. They have no cities, but dwell in tents, some of which are as richly furnished as the halls of a palace ; the flooring being covered with Turkey or Persian carpets, the sides adorned with silken hangings, and every other article for domestic use being of a costly and luxurious description, and obtained in exchange for valuable furs from the Chinese. The Mongols are great hunters, and thus procure the skins of various animals that are highly prized. They are all trained to arms, and are also addicted to horse-racing, wrestling, and other athletic sports. Their ordinary costume is a long dark-blue robe, fastened round the waist with a leather belt ; under-garments of Nanking cotton, leather boots, and a cap of cloth or fur, according to the season. Their princes attend as vassals at the imperial court, and very often marry the daughters of the emperor, who is not unwilling to promote such alliances as a means of securing their fidelity. With the same view he sends rich presents to them every year, except when any signs of rebellion appear, in which case the gifts are withheld until submission has been made and the disaffected have returned to their allegiance. Their lands are held in fief, and descend to the eldest son, who cannot take possession until he has received his investiture from the emperor; another means of keeping them in subjection.

It was during the long reign of Kang-hy (which lasted more than sixty years) that the English really obtained a footing in the empire. In the year 1664, in the time of our Charles II., a single English ship was sent to Macao, but such were the exactions imposed by the Chinese, and such was the effect of the malicious misrepresentations of the Portuguese, that the vessel was obliged to return without effecting sale or purchasing cargo. In 1668, peace with the Dutch encouraged our East India Company, who were rapidly rising in consideration in the great Indian peninsula, to turn their eyes once more towards China. By this time, Charles II. had married the Portuguese Infanta Catherine of Braganza, obtaining as part of her dower the island of Bombay and some dependent territory; and Sir Robert Southwell, our ambassador at Lisbon, obtained from that now allied friendly court an assurance that the Portuguese would receive the English ships at Macao in a friendly manner. It is at this period that we first find mention made of *tea* as a commodity abounding in China, and very proper to be imported in England. It appears, however, that the English ships sent out in 1668 merely opened a little trade at Formosa (then independent of the Tartars) and at Amoy. In 1681 our Indian Company ordered that their small establishments at Formosa and Amoy should be withdrawn, and that, if found possible, a trade should be established at Canton. Our people found the Mantchu Tartars far more disinclined to trade and to any intercourse with them than the Chinese had been just before their conquest. These Tartars, in fact, appear to have been beset by the apprehension that the daring English mariners and adventurers would join the Chinese and help them to throw off the Mantchu yoke.

And, again, the jealous Portuguese represented the English as a dangerous, turbulent people, who were at all times quite capable of the most daring and desperate enterprises. Unfortunately (in 1689), the crew of an English ship, named the "Defence," became involved in a quarrel with the natives, killed a Chinese, and wounded two or three others. It appears that the Chinese were to blame, and that, far outnumbering our people, they killed the surgeon of the ship and several of our seamen. But this was not admitted in extenuation by the authorities, and the vessel was obliged to go away without any cargo. By this time, however, tea was in so great a demand in England that it must be procured at any cost. The efforts of the East India Company were therefore renewed, and finally, in the year 1699, in the time of William III., they were allowed to have a factory at Canton, and a royal consul's commission was sent out to the chief of the company's council there. In spite of obstructions, interruptions, and many serious grievances suffered at Canton, our Chinese trade may be said to have steadily grown and increased from this date, or from the commencement of the eighteenth century. But for *tea*, it may be doubted whether England would ever have opened the trade at all. It was said nearly twenty years ago (since when our importations have greatly increased), "For some time past China has exported to England this one single commodity, tea, to such an extent, that the annual sale in England, excluding what is exported to the continent of Europe, amounts nearly to 30,000,000 lbs. weight. The annual sale of this article in 1825 produced a gross return of upwards of 7,000,000*l.* sterling, with a net revenue to the government of about three millions and a-half." If to this we add the teas carried from China by sea, in American and Dutch bottoms, and the large quantities brought overland into Europe by the Russians, who travel in caravans from the Great Wall of China across the steppes and desert of Tartary, the total amount produced and consumed by the nations of the west must amount to an enormous figure!

Two hundred years ago the use of tea was unknown in England; but since that period it has been imported to an extent that has changed the habits and worked a domestic revolution, not only in our own country, but in many parts of continental Europe. The gratification of the taste thus acquired, the absolute indispensableness of

"The cup which cheers and not inebriates,"

has made us dependent on our traffic with China for much of the comfort of a large portion of every class of society. Perhaps the poorest of all are those who most of all are benefited and comforted by the introduction and extended use of tea. But it has become, in a manner, an article of necessity to the entire community. Queen Elizabeth and her fair maids of honour drank strong ale at their breakfast—the poorest washerwoman nowadays would not take such a beverage when she can obtain her refreshing cup of tea. That the use of the fragrant herb, besides being a source of riches to individuals, and of immense revenue to the state, has been highly beneficial in improving the moral character, and promoting the domestic comfort of the British nation, cannot, for one moment, be doubted, or called in question.

Under the same great emperor, Kang-hy, the Dutch sent another embassy to Peking, which was headed by Van Hoorn, a phlegmatic man, who had made up his mind to submit to any indignity that the Tartars might be pleased to put upon him. He and his suite performed the ko-too over and over again, not in the emperor's presence, but before an empty throne; and having, by their performance of these prostrations, caused their nation to be enrolled among the tributaries of the empire, they were dismissed as loyal subjects, but without any benefit to their commerce, or any favour or consideration whatsoever. This precedent was highly injurious to the character and dignity of the nations of the West, and to the cause of European intercourse and connexion. For 130 years the Dutch sent no more embassies to Peking, but they were allowed to carry on a trade at Canton on the same footing as the English. Also under this great emperor Kang-hy, Peter the Great of Russia sent (overland) two more missions to China. Ysbrandt Ides started from Moscow for Peking in 1698. His journey across the wilds and wastes of Central Asia took up more time than a voyage by sea, for it was not till a year and eight months had passed that "he could return thanks to the Great God, who had conducted them all safe and well to their destined place." Ides found it very awkward to eat, not with knives and forks, but with little ivory sticks (chop-sticks); but his palate was particularly gratified by the soups, of which the chief ingredient was a green glutinous substance, said to be an herb found at a distance on rocks in the sea: in fact, it was the edible birds' nests, which form one of the most favourite luxuries in China, though not produced in that country. At his first Chinese entertainment, while they were yet at table, a person came in, and on his knees presented to the mandarin a list of plays, out of which that officer selected one, the performance of which was immediately commenced. The prologue was spoken by a lady, who, in the eyes of our Russian envoy, appeared to be very beautiful, and most magnificently attired in cloth of gold, adorned with jewels. The acting than began, and Ides thought it very entertaining, and equal to anything he had seen in Europe. It has been remarked that the czar's envoy had probably never witnessed at Moscow any high displays of the dramatic art; but it appears that Ides had been a traveller before he came to the Great Wall, and that he had seen dramatic entertainments in Germany, if not in France. His own account of his mission contains but slight notices regarding its object, though it gives considerable information concerning the parts of China through which they travelled. He particularly mentions the addiction of the mass of the people to the Buddhist idolatry; the astonishing populousness, order, and tranquillity of the country; and the spacious road, bordered by magnificent seats and gardens, which leads to Peking. At court, a French missionary, well known by his works and by his name, Father Gerbillon, and Father Thomas, a Portuguese missionary, who spoke Italian, acted as his interpreters. Business or talk being over, Ides was amused by more plays, and by dances and juggling tricks. What amused him most was a company of elephants, which had been trained to assume every imaginable posture, and to imitate every sound, from the blast of the trumpet, the roar of the tiger, and the low of the ox, down to the clear shrill note of the canary-bird. The Jesuits, then in high favour, showed their spacious cloisters enclosed with high walls, their church elegantly built, richly adorned with altars and images, and capable of containing two or three thousand persons.

They had also two globes, six feet in diameter, and a museum of European curiosities, in which their Chinese visitors seemed to take great interest. It is understood that Ides made arrangements by which Russian caravans, under the superintendence of the Chinese government, were to visit Peking at regular intervals. But the subjects of the czar were found to be much addicted to strong potations, and to be very quarrelsome when in their cups; and this induced Kang-hy to threaten the entire discontinuance of the intercourse. To avert the evil, Peter the Great, in 1719 (in the last years of the long reign of Kang-hy) despatched an embassy under Leoff Vassilovich Ismayloff, "a gentleman of a family very well known and much respected in Russia, and a captain of the Guards." This deserving Muscovite had in his suite a Scotchman, "honest John Bell of Antermony," who wrote a most interesting and truthful, as well as minute, account of the overland journeys, and the doings of the mission. These gentlemen, on the 5th of December, arrived at the famous Great Wall, which filled them with astonishment. "The Chinese commonly call it, for its length, the Endless Wall. The appearance of it, running from one high rock to another, with square towers at certain intervals, even at a distance is most magnificent."* They entered at a great gate, which was closed every night, and always guarded by a thousand men, under the command of two officers of rank, one a Chinese and the other a Mantchu Tartar; "for it is an established custom in China, and has prevailed ever since the conquest of the Tartars, that, in all places of public trust, there must be a Chinese and a Tartar invested with equal power: this rule is observed both in civil and military affairs, the Chinese pretending that two in an office are a sort of spies upon one another's actions, and that thereby many fraudulent practices are either prevented or detected." From the Great Wall they proceeded to Peking, by nearly the same route as the former mission under Ides. Their unhappiness began with their arrival at the capital. They wanted to escape the humiliation of the ko-too, but on this point the mandarins were inexorable. Ismayloff, however, refused to prostrate himself, until it was agreed that a Chinese ambassador, whenever sent to Petersburg, should conform to the usages of the Russians. This, as it has been observed, was certainly a safe stipulation to be made by a court which never condescends to send missions to any countries of the West. For their audience, the Russians were conducted to a country palace, six miles westward of Peking. There, at the end of a noble avenue of trees, they found the hall of audience. After having kept them waiting a quarter of an hour, the emperor came in at a back door, and seated himself upon a throne, whereat all the company stood up. Then the master of the ceremonies desired the ambassador to advance, and conducted him by one hand, while he held his credentials in the other. Having ascended a few steps, the letter was laid on a table placed for that purpose; but the emperor beckoned to the ambassador, inviting him to draw nearer. Ismailoff took up the credentials, and, attended by a mandarin, walked up to the throne, and, kneeling, laid them before the emperor, who touched them with his hand, and inquired after his tzarish majesty's health. Honest John Bell continues: "During this part of the ceremony, which was not long, the retinue continued standing without the hall; and we imagined, the letter being delivered, all was over. But the master of the ceremonies brought back the ambassador, and then ordered all the company to kneel, and make obeisance nine times to the emperor. At every third time we stood up, and kneeled on the ground again. Great pains were taken to avoid this painful piece of homage, but without success. The master of the ceremonies stood by, and delivered his orders in the Tartar language, by pronouncing the words *morgu* (down) and *boss* (up); two words which I cannot soon forget." In the afternoon, after the audience, they were feasted in the palace and entertained with music, dancing, tumbling, and wrestling. Here the emperor was very condescending and familiar, asking the ambassador many questions. Ismayloff had a good many more audiences, which were conducted with very little form or ceremony. The evident desireableness of keeping on good terms with the Russians, whose power was rapidly increasing, and whose advanced frontier already pressed on the borders of their own empire, led the Chinese to treat their envoys with unusual respect, and to attend to the business they came to settle. The Russian trade, however, was restricted to the frontier stations of Kiachta and Maimatschin, and commissioners were appointed by the two powers to manage its details. The Russian caravans were no longer to be allowed to proceed to Peking, nor were any subjects of the tzar to approach that capital. In 1727–8 a third mission was sent across the desert, under Count Vladislavitch, to obtain more favourable terms. The great Kang-hy was by this time in his grave, but his son and successor gave the ambassador a favourable reception. It was agreed that a sort of Russian college, consisting of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, should remain at Peking to study the Chinese and Mantchu languages, in order that good interpreters might be prepared, and communications carried on more satisfactorily. The college, which still exists at Peking, was to be maintained at the joint expense of the Chinese and Russian governments. The members of the college were to be changed every ten years, but it is said that the tzar often neglects to relieve them at the proper time, and that the members are occasionally condemned to fifteen or even twenty years of a very secluded, uneasy, and gloomy existence. The narrative of George Timkowski, who conducted the relief party sent in 1821, gives an account of his trip from Kiachta across the desert, together with considerable information relating to the Kalkas and other Mongol tribes subject to China. His observations, illustrated by the learned notes and comments of Klaproth, have added considerably to our knowledge of this remarkable empire. The Archimandrite, Batchourin, has written a description of Peking; but such works as the members of the Russian college have produced are, for the most part, still in their difficult language. Hitherto, the Russians have been much less given to authorship or to publication than the Germans, French, or English; but there can be little doubt that the archives of the public offices at Moscow and Petersburg contain a vast deal of information respecting the Celestial empire and its dependencies.

---

* Bell's "Travels from Petersburg in Russia to divers parts of Asia."

It has frequently been remarked by travellers that the tea brought overland by the Russians is far superior in quality to the article which we receive by sea. Some say that the tea of the Russians is produced by better districts than those which supply us, while others attribute the difference to its being carried by land, and not exposed to the deteriorating effects of a sea voyage. We are disposed to believe in the latter explanation, for some overland tea we drank at Constantinople had lost a great part of its flavour when brought by sea from that place to London — a comparatively short voyage, and during which much care had been taken of the sample. But whatever be the cause, the fact remains indisputable: the tea brought from China by the Russians is far superior to ours.

YOONG-T-CHING, FROM 1722 TO 1735.

Some time before his death, Kang-hy had nominated as his successor his fourth son, Yoong-t-ching, who was installed with great pomp.

The ceremony of the installation, which is equivalent to a coronation, takes place in the great hall of the palace, which is decorated with the splendour always displayed by the Chinese on state occasions. This ceremony consists in the act of homage performed by the princes and grandees of the empire there assembled, who acknowledge with certain forms the right of the new monarch to ascend the throne, and make the nine prostrations before him. In former times, if the successor were the son of the deceased sovereign, the government was left, during the period of mourning, to the care of the ministers, while the prince remained in the deepest seclusion; even shutting himself up within the tomb, or causing a hut to be erected near it, where he would spend months in the indulgence of his sorrow. But this custom has not been followed by the Tartar rulers, who appear to be fully aware of the impolicy of leaving the management of the state to others, and therefore profess to respect the ancient practice, while at the same time they evade its performance by pretending that their own inclinations have been overruled by a consideration for the welfare of the people. The enthronement of an empress is not a matter of right, but a mark of favour conferred by her husband, which raises her above the rest of the queens, of whom there are several, but does not place her upon an equality with the empress-mother, who still holds the first rank among the females of the empire.

The name of Yoong-t-ching signifies "lasting peace;" but the title was not at first very appropriate to the prince who assumed it. His reign was remarkable for little else than for his violent persecution of the Catholic priests, whose proselytes had greatly increased, and who had certainly rendered themselves obnoxious by their too eager and imprudent conduct. The Jesuits were banished from the court, the churches either destroyed or converted into heathen temples, and all Christian missionaries ordered to leave the country. Even his own relatives, those princes who, in the time of Kang-hy, had embraced Christianity, and been allowed by that liberal-minded monarch to have a church for the exercise of their worship, were involved in the general fate of the converts, and sent as exiles, with their wives and families, to the dreary deserts of Tartary. The banishment of the Jesuits put a full stop to the progress of improvement in China, where nearly every trace was soon lost of the benefits derived from their unwearied exertions; and as the succeeding emperors have neither tolerated the Christian religion, nor given any encouragement to the introduction of European science, the Chinese people and government are not more enlightened now than they were before the natives of Europe first visited their shores.

In every respect, except his enmity to the Christian religion, Yoong-t-ching is spoken of as a mild and beneficent sovereign, anxious to do good, and extremely charitable in seasons of public calamity, such as failure of the crops, or earthquakes, which latter are not unfrequent in China. The province of Pe-che-lee is particularly liable to these awful visitations, which were severely felt at Peking twice during the reign of Kang-hy, who is much and deservedly praised for his humanity to the sufferers; nor was Yoong-t-ching less benevolent on the occasion of a similar calamity which occurred in 1730, when many houses and temples were thrown down in the capital, and a great number of lives lost. Large sums of money were distributed, by order of the emperor, to repair the damage; and those families who were reduced by the destruction of their shops and goods to temporary distress, were relieved and supported at the expense of the government until their houses had been rebuilt and their trade had recommenced. In 1725 a terrible famine afflicted the land, when the public granaries in every province were opened for the purpose of supplying the people with corn and rice at a small price, and the emperor, according to established custom, made solemn sacrifices in the Temple of the Earth, released numbers of prisoners who were confined in the dungeons of the capital, and performed other acts of propitiation, hoping thereby to avert the calamity.

The care that is taken to make a provision for the poor in time of need, by laying up stores of grain in every province, constitutes a main feature of the Chinese policy; and, according to the ancient laws, is one of the chief duties of the sovereign, who is enjoined by Confucius, the revered instructor both of the prince and his people, to take care that the lands are cultivated so as to produce the necessaries of life for all; to attend to the fisheries and planting of trees; to be moderate in imposing taxes; to see that the means of instruction are furnished for every class; but above all, to assist the people in times of scarcity, as a father would provide for the wants of his children. Yoong-t-ching revived an old custom that had fallen into disuse, of inviting to a feast all persons eminent for their virtues. In his reign also the mandarins who had conducted themselves well in an inferior station were promoted to a higher rank. He encouraged agriculture by bestowing rewards on the most diligent labourers, and he brought under cultivation new lands at the extremity of the hilly province of Yun-nan, where he settled colonies, and conferred honours on those who had exerted themselves to improve the country. He modified the restrictive laws with regard to emigration, allowing the inhabitants of the maritime provinces to repair to Siam, Malacca, and the neighbouring islands; on condition, however, that they should return to their native country—a stipulation that was perfectly in unison with their own feelings, which would lead them, even without such an injunction, to end their days in the place of their birth, that they might be entombed among their ancestors. During this reign the Russians established their trading-station on the banks of a small stream in Tartary, called the Kiachta, which is about 1000 miles from Peking, and more than three times that distance from Moscow. On each side of this stream was erected a small town, or rather village, with a fort garrisoned by a few soldiers, that of the Russians being called Kiachta, that of the Chinese Maimatschin, which means the "fort of commerce." The Chinese residents in Maimatschin were agents employed by the merchants of great manufacturing cities to carry thither such goods as were likely to be marketable; as silks, both raw and manufactured, tea, porcelain, japanned ware, tobacco, rice, pearls, precious stones, spices, and those elegant toys of carved ivory for which the Chinese are so famous. They exchanged these articles with the Russians for rich furs, woollen cloth, linen, Russia leather, glass, and cutlery. The Chinese were not permitted to take their wives with them, nor could the Russians take theirs, on account of the length and difficulties of the journey; so that there were no women in the place, which must have been dull enough for those who were obliged to remain there a whole year, the term specified for the residence of the Chinese traders, who at the end of that time returned to their homes, when others were sent out to replace them, with a fresh assortment of goods.

During the whole of this reign, the British merchants of the East India Company trading to China were so much oppressed by the heavy duties imposed by the government, and the extortions privately practised by the mandarins, that, although the commerce was never entirely stopped, it was very often interrupted.

The reign of Yoong-t-ching was not distinguished by any very remarkable event, neither was it disturbed by foreign wars or domestic rebellion; therefore, had it not been for the cruel persecution suffered by the Christians, the name of the emperor would not have been a misnomer. He died in 1735, having reigned about fourteen years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the warlike and highly-talented Kien-long, the first sovereign of the Chinese empire whose court was visited by a native of Great Britain.

A public mourning in China, especially for the death of an emperor, is observed with the deepest solemnities throughout the whole country; for it is not, as in Europe, an optional ceremony to put on the outward symbols of sorrow, but the whole nation is bound, both by law and custom, to exhibit the same tokens of grief for the loss of him who is in a figurative sense the parent of every individual, as each would display on the death of his own father or mother. On the death of the sovereign, despatches announcing the event, written in blue ink, which is emblematical of a royal demise, are immediately forwarded to all the provinces. The Board of Rites then issues directions for the mourning, when the many millions of human beings that constitute the population of China clothe themselves in coarse sackcloth or white serge, lay aside every kind of ornament, and refrain from all festivities, either in public or private. During the first hundred days, the men are obliged to leave their heads and beards unshaven. Marriages are not celebrated, nor are any sacrifices performed in the temples. Similar ceremonies are observed at the death of an empress-mother, but do not continue for so long a period; fifty days being the usual term of mourning on such an occasion: but the wives of the emperor are not thus publicly honoured at their deaths, although in some instances the mandarins of the court have been ordered to take the balls that designate their rank from the tops of their caps, and not to partake of any amusements for a certain time.

Kang-hy had raised successively three princesses to the dignity of empress, and on the death of the last, to whom he had been exceedingly attached, he commanded that all the great officers of state should go in turn to weep and prostrate themselves before the coffin, while he shut himself up alone to indulge his grief. Being afterwards informed that four of the gentlemen of the bedchamber had been seen eating and laughing together, when they ought to have been sunk in sadness, he banished them from the court, and deprived their fathers also of their employments. "Is it to be suffered," said he, "that my servants, whom I treat with indulgence and honour, should be so little touched with my affliction as to make merry whilst I am overwhelmed with sorrow?"

The funeral processions of the great are very magnificent. When a favourite brother of the Emperor Kang-hy was carried to the place of interment, no less than sixteen thousand persons attended, most of whom bore ensigns denoting the rank of the deceased, or offerings to be burnt at his tomb. Trumpeters and mace-bearers, umbrellas and canopies of cloth-of-gold, standards, camels and horses laden with sacrifices, the coffin under a large yellow canopy, borne by eighty men, princes, princesses, mandarins, and bonzes, made up the great and imposing spectacle.

The reigning family have some very magnificent places of sepulture, one of which is in Eastern Tartary, near the city of Shinyang, four or five hundred miles to the north-east of Peking. It is there that the bodies of Shun-che, and his father, the great conqueror of the Chinese, are entombed; and several mandarins of the Mantchu race reside there, to take care that the tombs are kept in order, and to pay the customary honours and make the sepulchral sacrifices at the proper seasons. The tombs are built of white marble, in the Chinese style of architecture, and the large space of ground on which they stand is surrounded by a thick wall with battlements, as though the builders had feared that the sacred spot would have need of defence. The Chinese, whatever their rank, make as much display as they can possibly afford in their funeral rites. The procession is usually extended to a great length, and preceded by solemn music; the melancholy tones of an instrument resembling the Scottish bagpipes, being accompanied at intervals by three strokes of the drum. White standards inscribed with the name and age of the deceased, and a vast number of white lanterns, are carried in the train. The coffin is surmounted by a canopy, and followed by the chief mourner, dressed in a garment of sackcloth, fastened round his waist with a cord, and a cap of the same material with a white bandage. He is supported by his brothers, or two nearest relatives; after whom succeed, in a numerous procession, the friends and relations, all habited in coarse white cloth, some on foot, others in sedan-chairs covered with white serge, these being mostly the females of the family, who utter loud lamentations the whole way. One of the principal objects in the procession is the tablet, which is sometimes carried in a gilded chair, and is taken back, after

the interment, to be placed in the Hall of Ancestors. At the side of the tomb are erected temporary buildings, of mat or bamboo, where refreshments are laid out on tables by the attendants, while the friends are making the sacrifices and burning incense at the tomb. If the deceased has been a mandarin of high rank, it is not uncommon for his sons to remain several weeks on the spot, living in bamboo huts, that they may renew their expressions of grief, and make new offerings each day to the manes of the departed, and, in obedience to the injunctions of the ancient sages, "sleep upon straw, with a sod of earth for a pillow."

KIEN-LONG, 1735 TO 1795.

The great Emperor Kien-long succeeded his father, Yoong-t-ching, in the year 1735. On the day of his installation, while performing the customary rites in the hall of imperial ancestors, the young monarch made a vow, that "should he, like his illustrious grandfather Kang-hy, be permitted to complete the sixtieth year of his reign, he would show his gratitude to Heaven by resigning the crown to his heir, as an acknowledgment that he had been favoured to the full extent of his wishes." The vow was made in all sincerity, and the noble prince was spared to fulfil it. Not only in longevity, but also in the qualities which constitute a great ruler, he resembled his grandfather, the great Kang-hy. He encouraged the Chinese learning by cultivating it himself, and some of his poetical compositions are considered to possess intrinsic merit, independently of their being the productions of an emperor. The first public act of his reign was to recall from exile all who were still living of those unhappy members of the royal race who had been banished by his predecessor in consequence of their attachment to the Christian religion. The exiles returned in a very destitute condition, for all their property had been confiscated to the state, and as no portion of it had been restored, they had no means of subsistence but small pensions, to which they were entitled as princes of the blood, and which were wholly inadequate to the maintenance of a family.

It is a custom of long standing in China, to provide for all the relatives of the emperor by granting them pensions in money, silks, and rice; which allowances are larger or smaller, according to the degree of affinity in which the pensioners stand to the throne; those who are more than five degrees removed, being allowed only a bare subsistence. Those princes, who are very numerous, occupy a most unfortunate position in society; for, with the exception of a few of the highest

rank, who may happen to be honoured with the emperor's especial favour, they are of necessity an idle, useless class of beings, treated as mere appendages to the court, and debarred from those opportunities of distinguishing themselves which are freely accorded to all other members of the state. A prince of the blood is excluded from holding public employments, or from the pursuit of any occupation with a view to emolument. He has therefore no inducement to give much of his attention to study, since learning does not procure for him the same advantages that are derived from literary attainments by men of humbler birth. As a body, therefore, the princes of the empire are said to be the most illiterate men in China.

There are two branches of these idlers; the first being descended in a direct line from the famous Mantchu conqueror, Tien-ming; the second, from the uncles and brothers of that great hero. The former take precedence in rank, and are distinguished by a yellow girdle; while the latter, being more distantly allied to the emperor, are only permitted to wear a red girdle. They are all obliged to live within the precincts of the court, to attend all the levees, to follow in the train of the emperor whenever he appears abroad; and, in fact, they are mere living automata, who seem to exist for no other purpose than to increase the pomp of the imperial retinue.

Such is the greater proportion of the hereditary nobility of China; much more debased, and far less to be envied, than the hard-working peasantry of the country, yet more deserving of pity than contempt, as being held in an irksome state of bondage, from which there is no escape.

The recall of the exiles gave hopes to those who were interested in the diffusion of Christianity that the emperor was inclined to countenance, or at least to tolerate the preaching of the missionaries; which he did for some time. At length, however, the mandarins presented a memorial on the subject to the emperor, who suffered himself to be persuaded, against his better judgment, not to afford any farther protection or encouragement to the teachers of Christianity.

The powerful order of Jesuits, who had attained to so great an ascendancy in the East, and who, on the whole, had done nothing but good in China, conferring many temporal benefits on the people and spiritualising the nation, had contracted the jealousies and odium of the rival monastic orders, and of nearly every king or government in Europe which remained within the pale of the Romish Church; and about the middle of the reign of Kien-long, or a little more towards its close, the order was summarily suppressed, and its extensive property seized, in all those countries. This put an end to the indefatigable exertions of the Jesuits in the conversion of the Chinese, and though other Romanist missionaries and missionaries of the reformed churches have taken the field since then, and even now remain upon it, their success has been comparatively small. With the exception of their neighbours in Cochin-China, the subjects of the Celestial empire are, at this day, about the least believing, least religious, people in the world. Confucius, as we have said, made no religion, but only a system of morals and government. Only the literati and upper classes adhere to his doctrine, to the exclusion of every other belief, and, without any uncharitableness, these portions of the Chinese may be set down as absolute materialists. The vulgar follow the grotesque idolatry of Buddha, but even in this they are very far from being devout or earnest. When they render any worship, they go through it with levity and carelessness. That craving void in the human heart for some abstract or extramundane belief is, in them, filled by a belief in omens, talismans, fortune-tellers, ghosts, and witches, and by numerous practices of an absurd and childish superstition.

The reign of Kien-long was not very peaceful, for at one time he was addicted to warfare, and his ambition was gratified by some important conquests in Western Tartary, where several Tartar tribes were rendered tributary, and the rich city of Cashgar was brought under his dominion. But a later attempt which he made, to subjugate the Burman empire, was less fortunate.

The invading army commenced hostilities by plundering a town and mart, which the Chinese had long been in the habit of frequenting with goods for sale. The Burmese monarch took immediate steps to repel the invasion, by dividing his forces into two separate bodies; one of which marched direct towards the enemy, while the other, by a circuitous route, came behind them, and thus cut off their retreat. A terrible conflict took place, which lasted three days, and was most disastrous to the Chinese, who were hemmed in on all sides, so that, of all the vast army that entered the Burmese territories not one man returned to tell the miserable tale of their defeat, for those who escaped the sword were conducted in fetters to the Burmese capital, where they were made government slaves, according to the custom of that country. Those who understood any trade, were obliged to practise it; those who did not, were employed as gardeners and field labourers, and compelled to work very hard, without fee or reward, beyond a scanty supply of the coarsest food, just sufficient to keep them from starving.

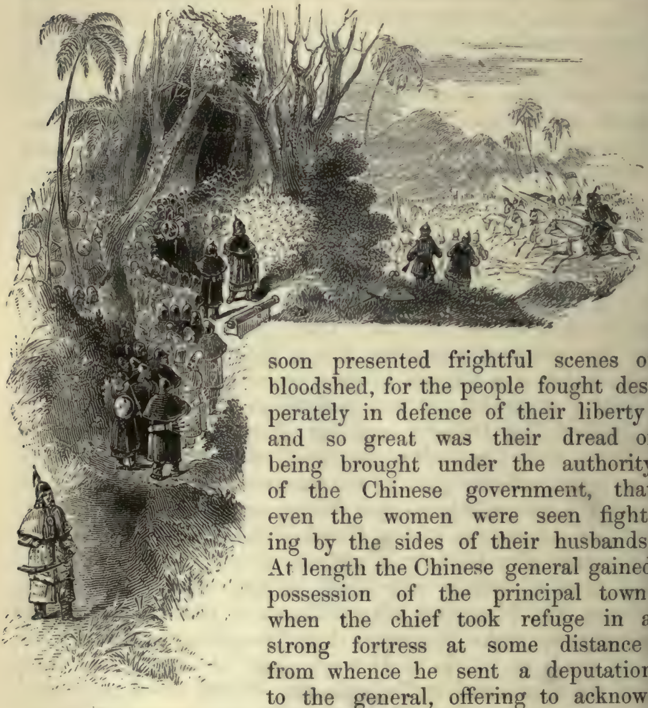
But, notwithstanding the unfortunate result of this expedition, the emperor made some important acquisitions to his dominions; amongst which was the kingdom of Thibet, an extensive country, which is still but very little known, and chiefly remarkable as being the high seat of the Buddhist religion, and the residence of the Grand Lama, or Pontiff of that faith. Thibet is an advantageous possession to the Chinese empire, on account of its situation between the north-western frontier of China and the countries of various Indian and Tartar tribes, who might possibly be very troublesome neighbours, but that their veneration for the Grand Lama keeps them from disturbing his dominions; so that Thibet forms a sort of neutral ground, which prevents the approach of an enemy on that side of the empire, of which it now constitutes a part.

But of all the wars of Kien-long, none has so much interest as the contest with the Meaou-tse, a singular people, who are supposed to have existed in the very heart of China from a most remote period of its history, yet have preserved their original freedom, and remain to this day an independent nation, though less numerous and powerful perhaps than before the armies of Kien-long appeared among their mountains, spreading death and desolation on every side.

We have mentioned in our introductory chapter the ridges of high hills inhabited by many different tribes of this race, who are quite distinct from the Chinese, whose government they do not acknowledge, and whose civilisation they do not share. They are believed by some to be the aborigines of the country, as it is well known that the southern part of China was in a state of barbarism long after the north had been comparatively civilised; but how it happens that they have been permitted to remain unsubdued and independent has not been accounted for. Perhaps the mountainous nature of the region which they inhabit, and which gives them advantages over an enemy, may, with other causes, have tended to discourage attempts to subject them. They are governed by their own laws, and have their own princes; but it is remarkable, that in all the revolutions that have taken place in China, the Meaou-tse are never mentioned (down to the year 1832, when they made war upon the Chinese), as having taken any part, nor does it appear that they were ever called upon to pay tribute. Their perfect independence of the Tartar government was shown by the retention of their hair, which was allowed to grow over the whole head; and, being of great length, was tied up in the ancient Chinese fashion. The Chinese consider them as a people totally different from themselves, insomuch that in their maps they even mark off that part of the country occupied by them, as though it were inhabited by a foreign race.

The intercourse of the Chinese with the Meaou-tse was sometimes of a friendly, sometimes of a hostile nature; for, like most barbarians who dwell in the vicinity of a fertile country, the Meaou-tse were addicted to plunder, and would occasionally make incursions into the plains, and carry off such spoils as fell in their way; while at other times they pursued a peaceful traffic with the Chinese, who purchased their forest timber, which abounds on the mountains, but is scarce in the level country, where all the ancient forests have long since been cleared away, in order to afford space for the cultivation of rice and cotton, to feed and clothe the overflowing population.

Although the Meaou-tse are not subjects of the emperor, yet every hostile incursion which they make against the Chinese is regarded by the latter as an act of rebellion. In the year 1770, one of the tribes made several marauding expeditions into the plains, and committed such extensive depredations that a military force was sent to invade their mountain territory, the emperor being resolved to subjugate or destroy their whole race. The imperial army entered the hills, which soon presented frightful scenes of bloodshed, for the people fought desperately in defence of their liberty; and so great was their dread of being brought under the authority of the Chinese government, that even the women were seen fighting by the sides of their husbands. At length the Chinese general gained possession of the principal town, when the chief took refuge in a strong fortress at some distance; from whence he sent a deputation to the general, offering to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, provided he might be permitted to retain his territories and rule over his people as before. But the mighty monarch, bent upon crushing the liberties of the mountaineers, sent forth his imperial mandate that the whole population should remove from their native hills to some distant part of the empire, where they might be kept in subjection, which they scarcely could be so long as they maintained the strong position they had hitherto occupied. The chief of the unfortunate tribe, to whom this sentence of expatriation was worse than death, collected his warriors around him, de-



termined to resist to the last, declaring that he would rather perish on his native soil than rule as a sovereign in a foreign land. But a still more melancholy fate than either awaited the brave barbarian; for, being at length made prisoner, he was conveyed with many other captives to Peking, where he was condemned to suffer an ignominious death, together with nineteen individuals of his family, who were beheaded at the same time with him; while some of his people, men, women, and children, were dragged from their homes, and distributed as slaves through various parts of the empire.

Still the Meaou-tse were not conquered; for although that one particular tribe was exterminated, there were others in different parts of the mountains who soon afterwards appeared in great numbers. "The emperor," says Sir J. F. Davis, "boasted that they were subdued; but there is reason to believe that this hardy people, intrenched in the natural fortifications of their rude and precipitous mountains, lost little of the real independence which they had enjoyed for ages, and that they were '*triumphali magis quam victi.*' They have never yet submitted to the Tartar tonsure, the most conclusive mark of conquest, and their renewed acts of hostility have given serious alarm and trouble to the Peking government."

The latter part of the reign of Kien-long is remarkable for the first intercourse ever held between the courts of Great Britain and China. An embassy was sent by his Britannic Majesty to the sovereign of the Chinese empire, under the following circumstances. Soon after his accession to the throne, Kien-long had established a company of merchants, called the Co-hong, consisting of the principals of ten hongs, or mercantile houses, who were invested with the exclusive privilege of transacting all business with Europeans: consequently, the English, as well as others, were prohibited from dealing with any other Chinese traders, and were obliged to purchase their tea, silks, and other commodities of importance, from these hong merchants, who fixed the prices of all goods, either exported or imported, and regulated the terms on which foreigners were to conduct their trade with China. They were responsible to the government for the customs and duties on all goods brought into or sent out of the country; and they were also answerable to the foreign merchants for the value of their cargoes after they were landed; so that any losses sustained on either side were to be made up by them; yet their profits were so enormous, that they grew in general very rich, and lived in great splendour.

In the year 1771, however, the partnership of the Co-hong was dissolved, and then there was no restriction to prevent other Chinese merchants from trading with the Europeans; yet the hong merchants contrived to maintain their monopoly by making handsome presents frequently to the mandarins at Canton, who, in return, suffered no one to interfere with their trade. This led to very unfair dealings on the part of the hongs, who, to indemnify themselves for the large presents they were obliged to make for the protection of their monopoly, charged most exorbitant prices for their goods, and practised all kinds of imposition on the European traders. The British merchants, who were the greatest sufferers by their extortions, endeavoured to get a memorial presented to the emperor; but their petitions were never allowed to reach the court, and they had no alternative but to submit to imposition, or to give up the trade altogether. Some of the hongs had contracted very heavy debts with the English, which they refused to pay; and serious disputes arising on that point, as well as on many others, the British government at length determined to send an embassy to the court of Peking, to lay all these complaints before the emperor and solicit redress. Lord Macartney, late governor of Madras, was appointed ambassador on this extraordinary occasion, and being furnished with many valuable presents for the great Eastern autocrat, he set sail from Portsmouth, in September 1792, and arrived at Canton in June, the following year. The ambassador and his train were received with the highest marks of distinction for the emperor had been apprised of their coming, and ha sent orders to the governors of the different cities and provinces, where they would stop in their way to Peking, tha every attention should be paid to them, and all things provided for their accommodation: a command that was mos scrupulously obeyed, so that they were not only well entertained when they went on shore, but ample stores of provisions with wine, tea, and baskets of porcelain, were sent to their ship by the mandarins of several places where they cast anchor o the voyage from Canton towards the capital; for, as the empir is not open to the admission of strangers, except by favou those who visit it on state affairs are considered and treated as guests of the sovereigns or persons in his service for the time being, and not as travellers, who are free to go where they please, and to have what they choose to order in return for payment: consequently, the accommodation they meet with depends very much on whether the mission be agreeable or not to his majesty. This fact was fully exemplified by the following circumstances which occurred at Chusan.

The British ships having to sail round the coast to the gulf of Pe-che-lee, required experienced pilots to conduct them along the shore, with which the English sailors were totally unacquainted. The governor was solicited to furnish proper persons for the purpose, on which he sent into the town of Tinghae, the capital, to order all who had ever performed that voyage to repair immediately to the hall of audience. A great many men presented themselves, and among others, two tradesmen who had been to Tien-sing, a great trading town on the Peiho river, on their own affairs, and these were the individuals selected to perform the office of pilots to the British embassy. It was in vain they desired to be excused, on the plea that their business would be ruined by their absence, and their families reduced to great distress; the governor only replied that the emperor's commands were explicit, and must be obeyed: the poor men, therefore, were obliged to go, inconvenient as it was to them. The Peiho river runs from Peking to the gulf of Pe-che-lee, and has many populous towns and villages on its banks.

The number of barges or junks continually passing up and down this busy stream is a proof of the wealth and populousness of the country, many of them being engaged in commerce, while many are government boats employed chiefly in conveying to the capital grain and other produce of the land, collected from the people of the neighbouring provinces, who pay their taxes, or rather rents, chiefly in kind. The junks are strongly built, and curved upwards at each extremity, one end being much higher than the other. The sails are of matting or cotton, made like a fan to fold up with bamboo sticks. Great labour is required in setting them, as the Chinese have no proper machinery for that purpose, so that all their manœuvres in working a ship are performed by actual strength. Most of the sailors, with their families, live constantly on board the junks, having no home on shore; and there are many companies of actors also, who have no other dwelling-place than a covered boat on the river.

The government yachts that conveyed the embassy up the Peiho were extremely handsome and commodious; but as the mandarins had no idea that an ambassador could come for any other purpose than to bring tribute, and do homage to the emperor on the part of his master, they had caused flags to be attached to the yachts, displaying these words in large Chinese characters, "Ambassadors bearing tribute from the country of England;" nor would they believe that the presents brought for the emperor were to be viewed in any other light. The viceroy of the province of Pe-che-lee, a venerable old man about eighty years of age, had travelled nearly one hundred miles in obedience to the commands of his imperial master, to be in readiness at Tien-sing to receive the English ambassador, who went on shore, accompanied by several gentlemen of his suite, to pay a visit to that high functionary.

While ascending the Peiho, a gentleman of the mission remarks, — "The approach of the embassy was an event, of which the report spread rapidly among the neighbouring towns and villages. Several of these were visible from the barges upon the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass; while the females, as shy as they were cautious, looked through gates, or peeped over walls, to enjoy the sight. A few, indeed, of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river, in order to get a nearer peep; but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the background. The strangers, on their part, were continually amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented, in almost every instance, something different from what offers to the view elsewhere. And a general sentiment prevailed, that it was well worth while to have travelled to such a distance to behold a country, which promised to be interesting in every respect."*

---

* Sir George Staunton, Bart., "Authentic Account of the Embassy, etc., taken chiefly from the Papers of his Excellency the Earl of Macartney." London, 1798.

Tien-sing is the great emporium for the north of China, as Canton is for the south. It extends for several miles along both sides of the river, on the banks of which are many quays and dock-yards, with large public buildings, the chief of which are the custom-houses, warehouses, and temples. The shops are handsome and well furnished, but the private houses are no ornaments to the streets, being built, as in all large Chinese cities, within a court, enclosed by a brick wall.

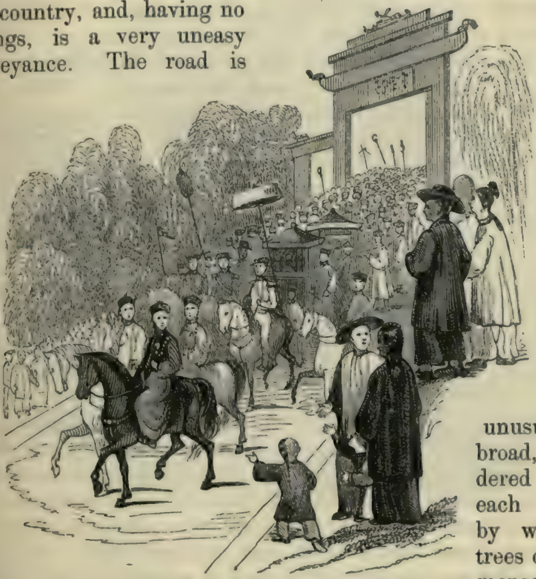
The Chinese are never at a loss for a hall of reception, as they can construct, at a few hours' notice, a temporary building or pavilion of this kind, raised within sight of the river, of bamboo, which, being carpeted and adorned with silken hangings and other tasteful ornaments, answers all the purpose of a palace for occasions of ceremony. It was in such a hall that the gentlemen of the embassy were received by the Viceroy of Pe-che-lee, with all the attention due to their rank, and the well-bred politeness that generally characterises the manners of a Chinese gentleman.

It is remarked by Lord Macartney, that men of rank in China appear to treat their domestics with a degree of kindness and condescension seldom met with in Europe ; and yet it is most probable that the servants alluded to were slaves, for domestic slavery is very common among the Chinese, and does not seem to be a very hard lot. In the higher walks of life, the customs of society were found not to be devoid of the elegance and refinement of the most polished circles of Europe ; as, for instance, the Viceroy of Pe-che-lee, whose advanced age made it extremely inconvenient to him to go on board the yachts, returned the ambassador's visit by being carried down to the shore in a chair, and sending an officer to the boat to present his visiting-ticket, which is exactly the same thing in China as leaving a card in London. The Chinese visiting-tickets, however, are large sheets of crimson paper, folded like a screen, the name and titles of the visitor being written down the middle.

From Tien-sing the embassy proceeded to Tong-soo, a city distant from Peking about twelve miles, where the whole party landed ; and as it was necessary to remain there a few days, a Buddhist temple was prepared for their accommodation, the bonzes being obliged to remove for the time to another monastery in the neighbourhood, with the exception of one, who was left to watch over the lamps at the shrine. These temples are always used as hotels on all occasions connected with the government ; but the priests are not required to furnish the guests with entertainment as well as lodging, their table being supplied, free of cost, by the governor of the city, wherever they may be. The only thing difficult to be procured was milk, which is never used by the Chinese ; neither do they make cheese or butter : but when it was understood that the strangers were in the habit of mixing milk with their tea, and that it was not pleasant to them without this ingredient, much trouble was taken to procure two cows, which formed a part of their train during the remainder of their sojourn in China.

The appearance of foreigners in that part of the country was an event of extraordinary interest to the inhabitants, who ran in crowds to every point where they were likely to obtain a sight of them. The whole way from the landing-place at which the yachts were stationed, to the temple where the ambassador and his suite were lodged, was like a fair; for, besides the vast concourse of people assembled merely for the purpose of seeing the European strangers, a great number of petty tradesmen, such as pastry-cooks, dealers in spirituous liquors, and persons who keep eating-houses, set up booths for the sale of various refreshments, among which were tea and rice prepared for eating, which may always be had in the streets of every town in China, where a working-man may dine very well at any time for less than a penny.

The English travellers went by land from Tong-soo to Peking, some in palanquins, others on horseback, and the rest in small tilted-carts with two wheels, which is the only kind of carriage used in the country, and, having no springs, is a very uneasy conveyance. The road is unusually broad, bordered on each side by willow-trees of immense size, and paved with large flat stones. The pavement is in the middle of the road, instead of at the sides as with us, which is easily accounted for by the rarity of wheel carriages, which are less common, even for long journeys, than sedans and horses. The party was escorted by a guard of soldiers, whose



chief employment the whole way was to keep off the crowd with their whips, of which they did not scruple to make very free use; but curiosity was stronger than fear, and no sooner did the whips cease to play, then the mob again pressed forward, while every wall, housetop, and tree, was thronged with spectators.

It was now the middle of August, and the emperor had not yet returned to the capital from his palace at Zhehol in Tartary, one of his numerous residences, where it was customary for the court to reside during the summer months. Zhehol is a small, mean, and crowded city, about fifty miles to the north of the Great Wall, and standing about five thousand feet above the level of the Yellow Sea; consequently it is much cooler than in China, and on that account is pleasant as a summer retreat. The country beyond the wall is wild and mountainous, and bears in its principal features a great resemblance to Savoy and Switzerland. There is a good road for general traffic, all the way from Peking to Zhehol, parallel to which there is a private road, kept in the highest order by the soldiers, expressly for the use of the emperor and court. Travelling palaces, or imperial hotels, are erected at certain distances all the way from the capital, as the emperor never, on any occasion, condescends to take refreshment or pass the night at the house of a subject, although the palaces of some of the viceroys are little inferior to his own.

The palace and gardens of Zhehol are situated in a romantic valley, on the banks of a fine river, overhung by rugged mountains. The park, which is very extensive, presents the most magnificent specimen of the Chinese style to be found in the whole empire; as the objects that are usually crowded together in too small a space to produce a pleasing effect are at Zhehol distributed over a vast area, the imperial park being not less than eighteen miles in circumference, including the palace and gardens of the ladies, which are enclosed within a separate wall. The western side of the park is occupied by thick woods of oak, pine, and chestnut trees, covering the sides of the steep mountains, where a great number of deer are kept for the chase; the rest is laid out in ornamental pleasure-grounds, adorned with as many as fifty handsome pavilions, magnificently furnished, each containing a state room with a throne in it, and some of them having a large banqueting-hall, where entertainments are given on special occasions to the great mandarins of the court.

Among the ornaments of these beautiful pleasure-grounds are small transparent lakes, filled with gold and silver fishes; and a broad canal, on which are several islands, adorned with pagodas and summer-houses of various forms, sheltered by groves of trees and fragrant shrubs. All Chinese buildings of this description are highly decorated, and generally bear some resemblance to a tent, which is evidently the model from which the architecture of China was originally designed.

Near the palace of Zhehol, on the side of a steep hill, stands the magnificent temple of Poo-ta-la, the largest and richest in the whole empire, covering above twenty acres of ground, and built at an immense cost by Kien-long, who was a worshipper of Fo, for whose service this splendid pile was erected. It consists of one large temple or monastery, with a number of smaller buildings and pagodas attached to it. The great temple is an immense square, eleven stories in

height; these stories being distinguished by galleries running round the four sides of the building, containing the apartments of the lamas, or priests, of whom there were not less than 800 at the time of which we are now speaking, so munificently was the establishment endowed by its founder. In the centre of the great temple is the golden chapel, where the priests perform their devotions. It derives its name from its gilded roof; and in the middle is a small space railed off, in which, elevated by steps, stand three altars richly adorned, each supporting a colossal statue, said to be of solid gold, but of course only gilded. The priests, who wear yellow robes, chaunt their service in a kind of recitative, striking drums at intervals; but there is no congregation, and although people sometimes go into this and other Buddhist temples from curiosity to observe the rites, few ever join in them.

It was at Zhehol that the emperor chose to receive the English embassy; which, until his pleasure was known, was lodged at Yuen-min-Yuen, about seven miles from Peking, where there is another fine palace, with an extensive park and beautiful gardens. The President of the Board of Rites, and several other great mandarins, who visited the ambassador very frequently, were extremely anxious that he should consent to perform the nine prostrations before the emperor, which he decidedly refused, knowing that if he submitted to this ceremony it would be construed into an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the emperor over the king of Great Britain.

The ko-too is, in China, the act of homage exacted from a vassal by his liege lord. It was, therefore, of material consequence that the ambassador should be firm on that point, which was at length given up by the Chinese; and the English party, escorted by a guard of Tartars and several mandarins of rank, set out on their journey to Zhehol, where, for the first time, an English nobleman was presented at the court of the most ancient monarchy in the world, and, as he himself expresses it, beheld "King Solomon in all his glory."

It is very well known that the custom of Eastern sovereigns has always been to hold levees soon after daybreak; and such was the practice of the Emperor Kien-long, although he had arrived at the advanced age of eighty-three. At the first appearance of dawn, on the day appointed for the reception of the embassy, were assembled all the princes of the imperial family, the principal officers of state, with a great number of mandarins, and several Mongol chiefs, who had come, as was customary, to be present at the celebration of the emperor's birthday, which was drawing near, and was always kept with much ceremony. The hall of audience, on this occasion, was a magnificent tent in the park, supported by gilded pillars, at the upper end of which was placed a throne under a canopy, raised several steps from the ground, which last was covered with rich carpets, and furnished with embroidered cushions of exquisite workmanship. From the top of the tent hung several of those elegant painted lanterns, so conspicuous among Chinese decorations, and unequalled for beauty in any part of the world. The emperor's approach was announced by the sound of gongs and trumpets — the never-failing accompaniments of all state processions in China, whether of the monarch or the mandarins. He was carried in a palanquin by sixteen bearers, a number that is not permitted to any other individual in the empire; and was surrounded by the usual appendages of Chinese dignity—flags, standards, fans, and parasols. He was plainly dressed, as suited his venerable years, in a robe of brown silk, with no ornaments about his person except a large pearl in the front of his black velvet cap.

The British ambassador, who was presented by the President of the Board of Rites, was most graciously received, although he did not pay that homage to which the great autocrat was accustomed, but merely bent one knee in presenting his credentials. This omission of the ko-too by Lord Macartney excited many criticisms and comments. It may be reasonably supposed that the reigning emperor, at the close of a very long and prosperous reign, felt sufficiently assured of his own power and greatness to dispense with such a ceremony; and that the authority of his son and successor, Kea-king, who was on the throne when our next ambassador (Lord Amherst) appeared at court, having been shaken by frequent insurrections, and even by some attempts against his life, this circumstance rendered him — or, at least, his courtiers — more tenacious of external forms. Some compliments were exchanged, and several presents also; for the etiquette of the court of China requires that every envoy who approaches the throne shall be provided with a suitable offering, for which he usually receives a gift in return; but it should be observed that the former is accepted as a humble tribute due from an inferior, while the latter is conferred as a mark of extreme condescension. When the ceremonies were ended, a sumptuous breakfast was served up in the tent in the Chinese fashion; and while all present partook of the repast, a band of music played on the lawn, where tumblers and rope-dancers exhibited various feats of agility, and a play was performed on a raised stage.

They have no scenery, but very fine dresses; and as no women are allowed to appear on the stage, the female characters are always performed by boys. At Zhehol, the ladies of the court had a theatre for their own especial amusement, where plays were acted every day, and were sometimes attended by the emperor and his ministers, but more frequently by the ladies only, who, having but little occupation, naturally fly to any frivolous pursuit that may help to beguile the time. One of their greatest enjoyments was to form parties of pleasure on the canal, for which purpose there were yachts always in readiness, fitted up in the most elegant manner, but so contrived that the fair occupants were entirely screened from observation.

There was no empress at this period, for the princess who had enjoyed that dignity was dead, and Kien-long had not thought proper to raise another to the throne. The laws of China admit of only one lawful wife; but the Tartar sovereigns do not restrict themselves to this rule, although they generally give to one a rank above the rest, and she alone is called empress, while the others have the title of queen. There were eight queens at this time, two of the first and six of the second rank; and these had each a certain number of ladies in her train, making altogether upwards of one hundred females belonging to the court. As long as the emperor lives they probably lead pleasant lives, but their subsequent lot is not very enviable; as they are then removed to a building near the palace, which may be termed a nunnery, since they are obliged, by the customs of the country, to pass the remainder of their lives within its walls, in utter seclusion.

The English visitors stayed a week at Zhehol, and were present at the anniversary of the emperor's birthday, which is a holiday throughout the empire. The ceremonies of the court consisted principally in the grand Birthday Ode, sung in chorus by voices innumerable, accompanied by deep-toned bells and solemn music. The emperor was present, but not visible, being seated behind a screen in a large hall, where all the courtiers were assembled in their state dresses to pay the customary homage, which was done by falling prostrate at the conclusion of every stanza of the Ode, which has been thus translated, "Bow down your heads, all ye dwellers on the earth; bow down your heads before the great Kien-long!" an exhortation that was literally obeyed.

The two or three days that succeed the birthday are entirely devoted to shows, sports, and festivities, in which all classes participate.

As soon as the gaieties were over, it was intimated to the British ambassador that it would be proper to take his leave of Zhehol, and return without delay to Canton, whither the emperor's answer on the subject of the embassy would be forwarded. It was not left to themselves to regulate the mode or the route by which they should return, neither were they allowed to travel through the country without an escort of mandarins, who, under pretence of polite attention, directed all their movements, and effectually prevented them from gaining more information than was deemed desirable by the jealous and watchful government.

Instead of returning by sea as they came, the strangers passed by the canal and rivers, through the provinces of Shantong, Keang-nan, Che-keang, Keang-se, and Kwang-tung, or Canton, a journey that occupied about ten weeks.

The highly-cultivated state of the country, the number, wealth, and greatness of its cities, its abundant resources, and myriads of inhabitants, were subjects of wonder and admiration to our travellers. Very minute and admirable accounts of the mission, and of all that was seen in the country, were written by the late Sir George Staunton, and the late Sir John Barrow, and published between the years 1797 and 1799. As the old works on the subject, in Latin or foreign languages, had long been neglected in England, the productions of these two able gentlemen may be said to have revived in this country an interest in Chinese matters, and a knowledge of them.

The emperor wrote a very friendly letter to our king, George the Third, but did not accede to the request that he would allow the subjects of the latter to trade to Ning-po, Amoy, and other maritime cities besides Canton, as they used to do before they were restricted to that one port. The mission, however, was in some degree successful, as the Viceroy of Canton, who had encouraged the frauds practised on British merchants, was removed from his office, while the governor appointed in his room received peremptory orders to put a stop to the grievances complained of: so that for a short time the trade was conducted on a fairer footing, when the abdication and subsequent death of Kien-long afforded an opportunity for the renewal of all the former oppressions.

It was in the next year but one following Lord Macartney's embassy, that the aged Emperor of China completed the sixtieth year of his felicitous reign, and, in accordance with the vow he had made at its commencement, prepared to resign the throne he had filled with so much ability. He had had twenty-one sons, of whom only four were then living; but he had not yet nominated either of them as his successor—an omission which had for some time been a source of considerable anxiety to many of the chief officers of government, who had some reason to fear that he intended to set aside the claims of his own sons, in favour of a young man on whom he had bestowed one of his daughters in marriage. The individual in question was the son of the chief minister, or kolao, an officer possessing much the same degree of rank and influence in China as in former times was held by the grand viziers at the court of the Arabian caliphs.

The kolao, a man of great talent, whose name was Cho-chang-tung, had risen from the station of a private soldier to the eminent position he then occupied in the state, and had for many years enjoyed the uninterrupted favour and confidence of his sovereign, who gave a signal proof of his high regard for the minister by admitting him to the claims of relationship. The union of Cho-chang-tung's son with one of the princesses spread the utmost alarm through the court, where it was fully expected that the new son-in-law would be named as the future sovereign of China. The excitement produced by this belief was so great, that a certain mandarin, high in office, taking upon himself the perilous task of mentor, ventured to write to the emperor on the subject, entreating him to select without delay one of his own sons as successor to the throne he was about to vacate. In all probability the temerity of the mandarin was founded on the ancient laws, which enjoin the ministers to admonish the prince when they find him acting contrary to the interests of the people: but although the sage councillors of olden times exercised this privilege with impunity, it seems to be a dangerous experiment in modern ages; for the stern monarch, incensed at the presumption of the imprudent meddler, replied to the letter by giving orders that the writer should be instantly beheaded — a sentence that did not occasion the least surprise, notwithstanding its undue severity. The unfortunate mandarin had needlessly exposed himself to this danger, since it does not appear that the emperor ever entertained a thought of placing his son-in-law on the throne. Of his own four surviving sons, the youngest was his favourite; and to that prince, who assumed the name of Kea-king, he determined to resign his empire. The sixtieth anniversary of his accession was celebrated by a grand jubilee throughout China, when many acts of munificence were performed by the emperor;* and among others, he desired that all the old men who had passed the age of seventy should be invited to a feast, prepared for them at his expense, in every district over the whole empire.

He reserved to himself the title of the *Supreme Emperor*, but he retired altogether from state affairs, and died soon afterwards, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. He was highly distinguished as a patron of literature, to which, as we have stated, he was himself a valuable contributor. He was indefatigable in his attention to business, and his extensive charities in seasons of public distress do honour to his name, and give him a true right to that title which it is the aim of every good ruler of China to attain,— that of the Father of his People.

Kien-long had not only kept together the vast empire, but had greatly extended its limits; yet the gentlemen of our mission discovered not a few symptoms of weakness, and of an approaching disorganisation. The old emperor, at the time of their visit, had no sinister forebodings. He was thoroughly a Buddhist, and he had reigned so long and so prosperously, that he persuaded himself that the divinity had chosen his body for its habitation. Two events disturbed the equanimity of the imperial court, and interfered with our negotiations: our Indian neighbour, the Rajah of Nepaul, had been waging war on Thibet, and the great French revolution had sent the echoes of its astounding deeds as far as Peking.

---

* Sixty years complete a revolution of the Chinese cycle.

On their return towards Canton, the embassy and servants were conveyed a great distance on the Grand Canal, which they found to be fed by very many rivers. On the canal they frequently saw the fishing cormorants at their work. In some places there were thousands of small boats and rafts, built entirely for this curious species of fishery. On each boat, or raft, were ten or a dozen birds, which, at a signal from the owner, plunged into the water, to catch the fish with their bills. It was astonishing to see the enormous size of some of the fish with which they returned to the boat. On crossing the Yellow River our travellers had an opportunity of observing the immense quantity of sand with which its waters are always charged. As soon as they arrived at Canton they learned that the Republican government of France had declared war against Great Britain, and that the sea beyond the Bocca Tigris was swarming with Chinese pirates. This, be it remembered, was in the glorious days of the great Kien-long!

This embassy of Lord Macartney added very considerably to our knowledge of China, and was, therefore, valuable; but for anything else it might almost as well have never been undertaken. The nations of the West were slow in coming to the unpleasant conclusion that their diplomacy must be thrown away upon a government like the Chinese; that, with it, no point will ever be gained by pacific, friendly negotiation. England, however reluctantly, has found herself compelled to resort to the *ultima ratio* of cannon-balls; and it is now the opinion of all who have been in the country, or have attentively studied the subject, that more arguments of the same kind will be required ere long.

KEA-KING, A.D. 1795.

It was in the year 1795 that Kea-king ascended the throne. The late emperor had chosen him to succeed him, because he entertained a very high opinion of his disposition and talents for government. But the conduct of the new monarch soon proved that both his virtues and abilities had been very much overrated by the partiality of his fond father; for, as soon as he was his own master, he began to indulge in pleasures that would have been extremely unbecoming in a prince of less pretensions, but were more especially so in the supreme head of the Celestial Empire, who styles himself the Son of Heaven and the August Ruler.

Kea-king seems to have imbibed no great taste for the restraints and etiquette of the Chinese court, which are, doubtless, excessively fatiguing, as every word and movement of the emperor ought to be in accordance with that dignified and even sacred character with which he is invested, and which most of the imperial rulers of China have made it their study to maintain. The Mantchu emperors had all been eminently distinguished by the stately air and grave deportment naturally looked for in those who are venerated as beings partaking of a superior nature; but Kea-king was utterly destitute of these lofty attributes, and not only indulged in an immoderate love of wine, but selected his favourite associates from amongst the actors, who, in China, are considered the very lowest class of the community. It is even said that, when heated with wine, he sometimes degraded himself so far as to take a part in the dramatic performances of his chosen companions.

An Italian Catholic missionary, named Serra, who was for many years employed at Peking, obtained a very particular account of the extremely profligate habits of this very unworthy son of the great Kien-long. After the early morning audience, from which no emperor can excuse himself, and a hurried despatch of the business submitted to him, he generally retired to the company of his players, buffoons, and tumblers, and afterwards drank to excess. He would frequently proceed with players to the apartments of his women, in the interior of the palace, and it was remarked that his two younger sons bore no resemblance to himself or to each other. He even carried the comedians with him when he went to offer sacrifices at the temples of Heaven and Earth. The ministers openly remonstrated with him respecting these disgraceful propensities, but their admonitions were in vain; and one of them, Soong-tajin, a man of very high talent, who was exceedingly useful to the state, was banished for presuming to speak freely on the subject of his faults.

This Soong-tajin was the chief conductor, and became the personal friend, of Lord Macartney while in China. When summoned by the emperor, and asked what punishment he deserved, he answered, "a slow and ignominious death." When told to choose another, he said, "beheading." When asked a third time, he chose "strangling." [These are the three gradations of capital punishment.] He was ordered to retire, and on the following day the court appointed him Governor of Chinese Siberia, the region to which criminals are exiled. Thus, as Serra observes, the emperor, though unable to bear his censure, acknowledged his rectitude. The people soon became dissatisfied with a monarch whom they could not respect, and insurrections broke out in many parts of the country; incited in some cases by the elder princes, who felt themselves aggrieved at the preference that had been given by their father to their younger brother.

Kea-king was as unpopular among the Tartars as among the Chinese; for while the latter were shocked at his indifference to ancient customs, the former were discontented at his neglect of the annual hunting excursions, esteemed as the grand business of life by all the Tartar soldiers, as well as by the tributary nations dwelling beyond the Wall. One of the consequences resulting from this state of affairs was the formation of secret associations, called Triad Societies, which are known still to exist to a vast extent; their object being to overthrow the present government, and restore the native princes to the throne. The Triads, who may be called revolutionists, know each other by secret signs, like the Freemasons; and although it may appear extraordinary that a people so entirely under espionage as the Chinese should be able to keep up such an institution, it is confidently asserted that the Triads form at this moment a considerable party in China.

The imperial voluptuary, coward, and dotard, was terrified by a sickness into practices of all the absurd, degrading superstitions which prevailed in China, and into a foul and fierce persecution of the Christians. Some of the Roman missionaries had concealed themselves in remote parts of the country, where they appear to have been much respected and cherished by the rural population. Eighteen of them were discovered, dragged to prison, and brutally beaten; six died in confinement; three were taken into the emperor's service; and nine were driven out of the empire. MM. St. Martin and Dufresse (both of whom have contributed to our stock of knowledge) retired to Manilla, where they were received with honour, and hospitably treated by the Spaniards. St. Martin died in peace in 1801. Dufresse, who, with a few others, returned clandestinely to China, was beheaded in 1814. M. Troira was caught and strangled in Hupeh, in 1816; and M. Clot was barbarously put to death in 1819. During the preceding sixty years a good many of these missionaries had suffered martyrdom; but the three just named are the only recorded executions of foreigners for religion during the present century. We have no data to show the number of native priests and converts who suffered death, torture, imprisonment, and banishment, in these sudden storms of persecution; but the total number was probably to be counted by hundreds. Between the years 1580 and 1724, there had been about 500 missionaries sent out from Europe, and we know that some of them traversed every part of the empire, and that some were very successful in propagating their faith.

In consequence of the disturbed state of the empire, numerous bands of robbers infested the interior of the country, while the pirates of the Ladrone Islands renewed their depredations on the coast. Among these was a noted corsair, named Ching-yih, who was no less renowned and feared than the famous Koshinga had been in the time of the first emperor of the Mantchu race. This formidable chief was in the habit of levying contributions on all the merchant-vessels that appeared in the Chinese seas; he plundered the villages on the coast, and did not hesitate to engage in battle with the imperial fleet. It was strongly suspected that he received secret assistance from many Chinese merchants of Amoy and Canton, who were disaffected towards the reigning family. The extent of their depredations between the years 1806 and 1811 would be incredible, if not well attested by English officers and other Europeans. Fishermen and other destitute classes flocked by thousands to their standard, and their audacity growing with their numbers, they not merely swept the coast, but blockaded all the principal rivers, penetrated far into the interior of the empire, surprised and plundered great towns, and took very many large war-junks. Their exploits were marked with cruelty, and every imaginable atrocity and abomination. At one time they counted 70,000 men, 800 large vessels, and more than 1000 smaller ones.

Ching-yih was accidentally drowned, but his death did not put a stop to the lawless practices of his people; for his widow, who might have been esteemed as a great heroine in a worthier cause, took the command of the fleet, headed the rovers in all their piratical expeditions, and actually fought in several engagements with the government forces. These Amazonian qualities were combined with very extraordinary talents as a ruler; for the chieftainess drew up a regular code of laws for the government of her people, by which they were bound to act equitably towards each other; and thus order was preserved among them. For some time, this female corsair maintained the sovereignty of the Chinese seas; insomuch that no merchant ships could navigate them in safety without a pass from her, which she granted on payment of a certain toll, and this pass protected them from any pirate vessels they might encounter on their passage. At length, disputes arose among the pirate captains; and the chieftainess, beginning to find her position a difficult one to maintain, concluded a regular treaty of peace with the governor of Canton, who was rewarded by government with a peacock's feather, the usual mark of distinction bestowed on a military or naval commander for any eminent service rendered to the state. The lady withdrew from the conspicuous situation in which she had placed herself, to live in retirement; while most of the pirates, being thus left without a leader, made submission, and were received into the service of the government.

In the meantime, the whole country was in a very unsettled state. The province of Pe-che-lee was overrun with armed bands, composed partly of those who had become robbers by profession, and partly of *revolutionists*, who joined with the banditti as a means of strengthening their force. All were equally terrible to the peaceful inhabitants, who were plundered with impunity, the robbers coming in such numbers as to intimidate the magistrates, some of whom were possibly more inclined to encourage than to oppose them. Some of these revolutionists profess merely an anxiety for the restoration of a native dynasty as the best means of promoting internal tranquillity, good order, and prosperity; but, if we are correctly informed, the bulk of them entertain very wild, anarchical, and communistic notions. We are assured that they have been greatly on the increase since the year 1830. On the whole, it may be pretty safely assumed that the Chinese empire was in a state of disintegration or dissolution when we commenced our late war with it. The full effects of the blows we struck, or of the impressions we left behind us among the people, are not yet to be calculated. The jealousies and fears of the government had long been derived, almost entirely. from the accounts they received of our immense conquests and annexations in India. They may now have more to fear from the knowledge spread among the people of the beneficent way in which our rule has been exercised in India. If free to choose, a large portion of the Chinese would prefer our rule (as exercised in India), to their own weak and yet oppressive government.

In the year 1813 the palace at Peking was suddenly attacked by a numerous body of armed men, who forced the gates and rushed into the great hall, with the intention of seizing the emperor, and obliging him to abdicate the throne. A similar attempt had been made ten years previously, since which time Kea-king had taken care to have a strong bodyguard in constant attendance; and besides this precaution, a double guard was posted at every gate: therefore it is supposed the conspirators must have had confederates within the palace, who facilitated their entrance, otherwise there must have been a desperate struggle with the soldiers, which does not appear to have been the case. A terrible scene of confusion ensued. The princes and attendant officers surrounding their sovereign made a gallant defence; and one of Kea-king's sons had the good fortune to save his father's life by shooting two of the insurgents who were in the act of rushing upon the emperor.

Much blood was shed before the palace was cleared of the assailants, who were, however, at length dispersed, and the insurrection was eventually subdued. Kea-king named as his successor the prince whose timely aid had preserved his life.

About three years after this rebellion, another embassy was sent by the British government to the court of Peking, to complain anew of the manner in which the trade with England was conducted at Canton. The good effect produced by the interference of Kien-long had been but temporary, for his successor, as narrow-minded as he was weak and vicious, hated all Europeans, and suffered the Chinese merchants to impose upon them in the most unscrupulous manner. Lord Amherst, the ambassador on this occasion, proceeded to Peking by the same route that Lord Macartney had previously taken; but his reception at the various places he stopped at on the journey was very different from that given to the former ambassador; nor did he meet with similar attention with regard to accommodation and entertainment, all which clearly indicated the unfavourable disposition of the sovereign respecting the object of the mission. In short, on the arrival of the embassy at Peking, the old dispute relative to the ko-too was revived, and the conduct of the ambassador was so entirely misrepresented to the emperor, that no audience was granted; and thus the English not only failed in obtaining a redress of grievances, but were disappointed of seeing the Chinese emperor.

It has been ascertained, however, that the agency of the provincial government of Canton was powerfully exerted against Lord Amherst's embassy, and that the emperor subsequently discovered, with much regret, the insulting proceedings of his ministers.

The rude behaviour of the Mantchu princes and nobles made no very favourable impression upon the English. Partly in bravado, partly to exhibit their natural character in its worst points, they indulged in boisterous conduct, which greatly disgusted their visitors. We may form some idea of the state of the court of this extra-celestial empire, from the facts that the whip was used to keep the courtiers in good order, and that constant evasion or bare falsehood was employed to inveigle the foreigners into derogatory concessions. Lying appears to be the besetting sin of the Chinese. Nearly all our travellers admit that no dependence whatever can be placed, either upon their word or upon their oath. The vice is not confined to those in government employment; it pervades all classes. Interesting accounts of this mission were published by Mr. Ellis, Mr. Clark Abel, and others.

One grand object of this unsuccessful embassy had been, as before, to solicit a restoration of the privilege formerly enjoyed by British merchants, of trading to other ports besides that of Canton; a privilege now obtained by other means, and not likely to be lost again. All European trade, as already stated, had been restricted to the single port of Canton, by an edict of Kien-long in the year 1755, when it was ordered that foreign vessels should only go thither at a certain season of the year, and not remain there longer than a given time, at the expiration of which they were either to depart entirely or withdraw to Macao; and this arbitrary decree had never been revoked. In consequence of the ports being thus closed against them, the British merchants were obliged to pay for the transport of tea from an immense distance, by which its price was considerably increased; for between Canton and the principal tea districts there were ranges of lofty mountains to be crossed, and shallow rivers to be navigated, which made the carriage of goods a difficult, expensive, and tedious process, the more especially as chests of tea, or any other large or heavy packages, are not conveyed overland in waggons or by horses, but are slung on bamboo poles, and carried by men, however long the distance may be. The boats on the canals and many of the rivers have to be tracked, or drawn along by ropes; and this labour also, which in most countries is done by horses, is in China performed by men: so that, either on land or water, the number of labourers employed in the transit of merchandise is immense. The tracking of the government barges is a sort of tax on the people, who are usually pressed into this service by order of the magistrates, on whom the duty devolves of seeing that each district furnishes a certain number of men for that purpose; even the wealthiest farmers not being exempt, except on finding substitutes, whom they must pay.

After all, the Chinese must be said to be governed by the whip and the bamboo, the bamboo having the larger share in the administration. The viceroy bamboos the mandarins, the mandarins bamboo their inferior officers, and these, in their turn, bamboo the common people; the husband bamboos his wife; the father his son, even when of mature age. One of our oldest travellers says, "Of a surety there is no such country for stick as Cathay! Here men are always beating, or being beaten."

Each viceroy maintains a court of his own, and whenever he appears abroad he is attended by a numerous retinue, bearing the symbols of his high office. He is carried in a gilded chair or sedan, and invariably followed by the public executioners, some carrying chains, others that universal instrument of justice, the bamboo, which is very unceremoniously applied on the spot to any unlucky wight who may chance to be detected in a misdemeanour; consequently, the approach of the high functionary never fails to inspire a degree of awe, which is manifested by the respectful haste with which the people make way for the procession, ranging themselves close to the wall, where they stand perfectly still and motionless till the whole retinue has passed. The viceroys are entrusted with despotic authority; but they must be careful how they use it, as they are always liable to the visits of the Imperial Commissioners, who frequently arrive from the capital without giving notice of their approach, for the purpose of seeing whether all is as it should be; and if they find anything wrong, it is immediately reported at the court, when the offender is visited with a prompt, and often a severe punishment. A single word

from the emperor is sufficient at any time to deprive the first grandee in the land of his rank, his property, or even his life; nor is it a very uncommon case for a mandarin of the highest order to enter the palace with all the pomp of a petty sovereign, and to come forth, within one short hour, loaded with chains, and stripped of every sign of his late dignity. The governor of a province or city is particularly liable to such a reverse, from the nature of the laws, which hold him responsible for all those public calamities which are attributed to accident in other countries; as, for instance, the overflowing of rivers, the scarcity of crops in a favourable season, or the destruction of property by fire: all evils supposed to arise from want of vigilance on the part of the chief magistrates, who are required to see that the subordinate officers are attentive to their several duties. Every one holding an official situation is answerable for the conduct of those below him, and if the inferiors are negligent in their respective departments, the superiors are liable to punishment. Thus, if the country is inundated by the sudden rising of a river, the viceroy is considered in fault for not having attended diligently to the repairing of the embankments; if the crops are not so abundant as they ought to be in any particular province, the failure is attributed to the governor, in not having seen that the husbandmen were more intelligent or industrious; and, again, should lives or property fall a sacrifice to fire, it is presumed that they might have been saved by more active measures: consequently, the magistrates are blamed for not keeping a more efficient police, and the viceroys or governors are blamed for appointing such careless magistrates. The most usual punishment for mal-administration is degradation to a lower rank, according to the nature and magnitude of the offence. If the fault be a very serious one, the offender, if of the highest degree, is perhaps degraded to the lowest; that is, from the first to the ninth class of mandarins: but if it be only a trivial error, he is lowered one, two, or three degrees, and in most cases the punishment is only for a certain time, at the expiration of which he is restored to his rank and office, and resumes his former place in society, as though nothing had happened, for a temporary disgrace of that kind leaves no stigma on the character of the individual.

Crimes that are considered in the light of treason are visited with a heavier penalty. Banishment, or death, is the doom of him who has in aught neglected or disobeyed the commands of the emperor; and in either case the whole family of the culprit share his fate, although they may be wholly innocent of any participation in his crime. The enactment of this unjust law was no doubt originally intended to deter people from ill-advising their relatives, or encouraging them in any act contrary to the interests of the government, and even to make them watchful and anxious for the good conduct of each other.

In the year 1819, the sixtieth birthday of the emperor Kea-king was celebrated by a great jubilee throughout the empire, when the ancient customs were observed, of remitting all arrears of land-tax, of granting a general pardon to criminals, and of admitting double the ordinary number of candidates for literary honours to the public examinations for that year. As these examinations were first instituted for the purpose of selecting the fittest persons to fill all offices of state, without regard to rank or fortune, they were conducted with impartiality. One of the favourite maxims of the Chinese is, "By learning, the sons of the poor become great; without learning, the sons of the great are mingled with the common people." The beneficial influence of this maxim is observable in the village schools, which are generally well attended, since it is natural for every father to hope that one of his children at least may distinguish himself by a superior capacity, and thus make his own fortune, as well as that of his family; for as parents are frequently degraded in consequence of the misconduct of a son, so they are often honoured and rewarded on account of his virtues.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in a country where the system of instruction is entirely regulated by the laws, and forms so material a part of the constitution, there should be no free schools supported by the government, nor any establishments for education founded by the munificence of those who, in every age, have acquired fame and riches by their literary attainments. The master of a district school is paid at the rate of about ten shillings a-year for each boy; yet even this small sum cannot very easily be spared by a labouring man, whose wages are not more than fourpence a-day: so that many families of the poorer classes send only one son to school, selecting, of course, him who shows the most promising genius. The boys are incited to industry and good behaviour by the hope of prizes, which are distributed at stated periods, and consist of pencils, Indian ink, paper, and little palettes for grinding the ink, which are all much prized by the Chinese, who call them "the four precious materials," and teach the children to keep them in very neat order. In most of the country villages, and in all large cities, there are evening schools for boys who are obliged to work in the day-time; for the children of the poor are inured to labour from a very tender age, so that little fellows of five or six years of age may be seen trudging along the roads, with a stick across their shoulders, carrying loads; and they are set to work in the fields almost as soon as they can walk. It is the usual practice, now, for persons of rank and wealth to engage private tutors for their children; but whether the latter are educated at home or at a public school, they must undergo the regular examinations before they are eligible to office, nor are they taught in any way differently from the boys at the village seminaries.

Many years of laborious application to study are required to fit a youth for becoming a candidate for literary distinction; and to us it would seem a subject of regret that so much time should be devoted to the acquirement of such unprofitable lore as that which constitutes the limited knowledge of a Chinese scholar. Five or six years are entirely spent in committing to memory the works of the ancient sages, particularly the five canonical books, of which Confucius was either the author or the compiler; and thus a mandarin must know by heart all the laws, rules, and maxims, by which the empire has been regulated from time immemorial. Six years more are devoted by the unwearied student to the making himself master of the art of composition, to which end he studies innumerable set phrases and apt similes; so that all the learned Chinese write in the same figurative style, and use the same metaphors.

The district examinations take place twice in three years, when those young men who are looking for preferment and are qualified for trial assemble at the public hall, before a council of the literati, who are to judge of their merits; when each candidate is furnished by the president with a theme, on which he has to write an essay, and an ode, to test his fitness for a further trial. The best of these compositions being selected, the authors are sent to the chief literary mandarin of the department in which their district is situated, who subjects them to a much more rigorous examination than the former one, which ends by giving certificates to a certain number, who thus gain what is called "a name in the village," while the rest either give up the pursuit or wait for the next opportunity of making another trial. The chosen few have then to appear before a still higher tribunal, which is yet stricter than the last. The hall where this trial takes place is provided with a great number of small apartments, so that each candidate may be shut up alone, and the judges thus assured that their performances are entirely their own. They are even searched on entering these little cells, to see that they have neither books nor papers about them, and this being ascertained, all are supplied with writing materials and themes to try his skill in composition, both in prose and verse. To guard against any partiality being shown by the president and members of the board, these papers are laid before them, unsigned, and they select the best, without knowing who are the authors. The fortunate individuals whose pieces are thus approved then receive the first degree, which is equivalent to that of our Bachelor of Arts; but the numbers are so considerably diminished at each fresh trial, that, on an average, it is reckoned that not more than ten arrive at this degree, out of every thousand who present themselves, in the first instance, at the hall of the district; but as the districts are very numerous, these tens amount to many hundreds in every province.

A graduate of the first degree wears a blue gown with a black border, and has a silver bird on the top of his cap. The second degree is that of Keu-jin, which is translated "elevated man," a rank equal to that of Master of Arts at our univer-

sities. All those who have attained the first step are qualified to try for the second, but the task is a much harder one, and as the number to be chosen is very small in proportion to that of the candidates, being not much more than one out of every hundred and forty, the emulation and excitement are of course very great. This trial takes place only once in three years, in all the provincial capitals, before a board composed of an imperial chancellor, and the great mandarins of the province. On this occasion, as before, the competitors write their essays in separate cells, which are guarded by soldiers, to prevent the possibility of communication with any one outside. They have to pass through three ordeals, with an interval of two days between each. On the first day, two or three thousand pieces are, perhaps, sent in for inspection to the judges, who are so strict, that, if one word of the composition be incorrectly written, it is thrown aside, and the mark with which it is signed (for no names appear) is put up at the gate of the hall; which spares all the mortification of a public rejection, as no one knows the signature but the candidate himself, who, on recognising his own mark, returns quietly home; so that on the second day there are not, perhaps, one quarter of the original number; and on the third, there are fewer still. At length, the names of the successful candidates are declared; on which hand-bills notifying the same are printed and posted up in all directions; their parents and nearest relatives are sent for, to share in the honours that are bestowed on them; they are invited to the houses of the great, and overwhelmed with presents and congratulations. The blue dress is exchanged for a brown gown with a blue border, and the silver bird superseded by a golden or gilt one. The happy scholar is now on the high road to wealth and fame; he is qualified for any office, and if his conduct and ability are such as to entitle him to advancement, he is expected to rise.

Such are the means by which nobility is acquired in China, and before the reign of Yong-tching they were the only means; but in the reign of that prince, and since his time, rich merchants and others, who have not gone through the ordeal above described, have been allowed to purchase rank, and have thus become mandarins without possessing the necessary qualifications; but this innovation caused much dissatisfaction, and was not carried then to any great extent. There are still two degrees above those already mentioned, to which all who have taken the second degree are privileged to aspire. Once in three years, those who are ambitious of rising another step repair to Peking, for the examination by the Doctors of the Han-lin college, who elect three hundred out of about ten thousand, which is the average number of candidates for the honour of a rank somewhat similar to that which among us is called Doctor of Laws. The three hundred elected to this dignity are again examined in the presence of the emperor, and a few of them chosen to fill up the vacancies that have occurred in the Han-lin college, from which the ministers and other high officers of state are usually appointed. The attainment of this grade is the grand object of every one who enters upon a literary career in China; a grade equally open to all, yet reached only by a few.

When the last election is decided, three of the new members, whose names stood highest on the list, are paraded round the city for three days, with flags flying, drums beating, and all the usual pompous appendages of a Chinese procession.

The number of civil officers in China amounts to about 14,000, all of whom are paid by the government. Every province has its viceroy, every city its governor, every village its ruling mandarin; and each of these is assisted by a council of inferior magistrates, and has a number of officers in various departments subordinate to him.

The mandarin rulers, whatever may be their rank, are only elected for three years, at the expiration of which they are appointed to the government of some other place. It was formerly a custom, that when a good magistrate of a village or district had fulfilled his term of office, the people should testify their respect and gratitude by sending a deputation to invest him with a robe of many colours, which was proudly preserved in his family, as a memorial of his virtues; and on such an occasion, when the time for his departure had arrived, the villagers would set up lighted sticks of incense for some distance along the road by which he was to pass, and kneel down by the wayside to receive his farewell greeting. We regret to say that this is a picture of past, rather than of present times. The mandarins appear to have bambooed all affection out of the people, and to have lost all respect through their corruption, venality, and rapacity. They are regarded like pashas in Turkey. When one of them is removed, the poor people wonder, not how much better, but how much worse his successor will be. Then, again, the Triad societies and other secret combinations have evidently undermined the loyalty of great masses of the population.

The death of this monarch,—who, however, lived to be sixty-one years old—is said to have been hastened by his excesses, and by his uneasiness and fear on learning, during a journey in the provinces, the sad condition to which the empire had fallen during his reign. There were, however, strong suspicions of secret assassination.

The emperor's *will*, a very singular document, was published to the people. In it was this passage :—" The Yellow River has, from the remotest ages, been *China's sorrow.* Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand-banks, it has, higher up its course, created alarm by overflowing the country. On such occasions I have not spared the imperial treasury to embank the river, and restore the waters to their former channel. Since a former repair of the river was completed, six or seven years of tranquillity had elapsed, when last year, in the autumn, the excessive rains caused an unusual rise of the water, and in Honân the river burst its banks at several points, both on the south and north sides. The stream Woochy forced a passage to the sea, and the mischief done was immense. During the spring of this year, just as those who conducted the repair of the banks had reported that the work was finished, the southern bank at Eefong again gave way." The mention of this subject in the emperor's will is a sufficient proof of its importance. If the science of European engineers could put an effectual stop to the evil, it would be the most important physical benefit that was ever conferred on the empire. Even the European trade at Canton was annually taxed to meet the repairs of the Yellow River.

" The emperor's will," says Sir J. F. Davis, " proceeds to state the merits of his second son, the late sovereign, Taou-kwâng, in having shot two of the assassins who entered the palace in 1813, which was the reason of his selection. It has been even supposed that Kea-king's death was hastened by some discontented persons of high rank, who had been lately disgraced in consequence of the mysterious loss of an official seal. The emperor's death was announced to the several provinces by despatches written with *blue* ink, the mourning colour. All persons of condition were required to take the red silk ornament from their caps, with the ball or button of rank : all subjects of China, without exception, were called upon to forbear from shaving their heads for one hundred days, within which period none might marry, or play on musical instruments, or perform any sacrifice."

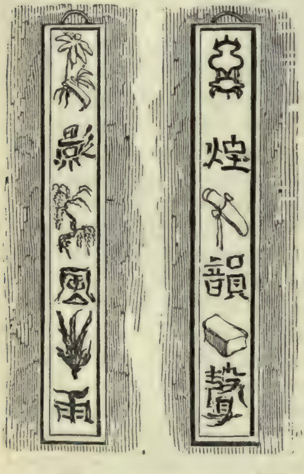
The Emperor Kea-king died in the year 1820, and was succeeded by his second son, Taou-kwâng. But ere we enter on the subject of those interesting occurrences which have given a new aspect to the affairs of the Celestial Empire, let us turn our attention more particularly towards the general state of Chinese society.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, AND GENERAL CONDITION OF THE CHINESE.

THE habits of social life in China, as far as they are yet known to us, are as peculiar to the inhabitants of that country and its dependencies, as their political institutions, their religion, or their literature; and, although not destitute of refinement, present a striking contrast to those of any other existing nation. In the many allusions that have already been made in the preceding pages to the manners and customs of this singular people, it must have appeared that it is not the difference between civilisation and barbarism that distinguishes the Chinese of the present age from their contemporaries, but it is the more remarkable dissimilarity between ancient and modern, and eastern and western civilisation, which marks them as a nation belonging to other times and other climes.

To speak of the Chinese as a rude or uninformed race, would be quite as erroneous as to style them a highly-civilised people,—a term that can only be applied with propriety to those who are enlightened by modern science, which in China has hitherto made no progress. The refinement of the Chinese consists in the elegance and luxury with which the higher and richer classes are surrounded in their own houses, and that strict attention to the forms of good breeding which prevails generally through all the grades of private life. Politeness is an indispensable accomplishment, and the rules of etiquette are studied in all the schools of China as regularly as the Latin grammar in those of England. A knowledge of the forms and ceremonies to be observed, both at home and abroad, in the drawing-room of a friend as well as at the court of the emperor, is essential to every one who studies with a view of taking degrees, as he knows not to what rank he may be called, and ought to be prepared to conduct himself with propriety in different grades of life, from the station of the petty mandarin of an obscure village, to that of the chief kolau or minister of state. It must be understood, that to conduct himself with propriety does not altogether refer to his integrity in office, or his moral character, to both of which, however, his most careful attention is requisite; but he must know how many bows to make to his visitors; what compliments to address to them, according to their rank; whether, at their departure, he should attend them as far as the door, or only so many paces towards it; and other minute observances, too numerous to mention, must be studied and practised. These trivial ceremonies impart a dulness and formality to Chinese society, which are found excessively tedious by most Europeans, whose easy, unstudied manners, would be thought quite barbarous among the well-bred of the Celestial Empire. It is possible, indeed, that more freedom may exist between intimate friends than we are aware of, since very few Europeans have had opportunities of seeing much of the in-door life beyond the little that can be observed in a mere visit of ceremony, which is always received in the same formal manner; so that we have yet much to learn respecting the private domestic habits of a Chinese family.

The houses of the wealthy are built, like those of the Egyptians, within a court, surrounded by a wall, consequently they are not visible to the passers-by; but those of government officers are always known by two red poles, which are set up before the gate. The handsomest dwellings are those which consist of a number of separate buildings, or ranges of apartments, all on the ground-floor. The principal entrance is threefold, namely, by a large folding-door in the centre, and a smaller one on each side, at which hang two handsome lanterns, inscribed with the name and titles of the master of the house. This entrance leads to the saloon, where visitors are received, which is usually the first of a suite that may be called the state apartments, since they are chiefly used for the reception and entertainment of distinguished guests. They are elegantly and commodiously furnished; for the Chinese are not deficient in taste, nor do they spare expense in the interior decorations of their houses, which are often fitted up in a very costly style. The walls of the best rooms are generally adorned in different parts with scrolls of white silk or satin hangings from the ceiling to the floor, on which are imprinted, in large characters, maxims and moral sentences extracted from the works of the ancient sages, which are considered far more ornamental than the finest paintings. Many of these sentences bear some resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon. Their chairs, which, it may be remarked, are articles of furniture not used by the natives of other parts of Asia, are rather



clumsy and heavy in appearance, but they are made of a very beautiful wood which grows in China, and is not unlike rosewood. They are all made with arms, and sometimes are furnished with silk or satin cushions, and hangings for the back, embroidered by the ladies of the family, who devote a great portion of their time to needlework. Japanned cabinets and tables, with a profusion of porcelain jars and other ornaments, are always seen in a Chinese drawing-room; but none of these are so striking or so characteristic as the lanterns, suspended by silken cords from the ceiling, and ornamented with a variety of elegant designs.

In any civilised part of the world we may find Indian cabinets and porcelain vases; but the lanterns are exclusively Chinese, and are very showy specimens of the national taste and ingenuity. They are made in every form that fancy can invent, and of all sizes, from the small ones carried by pedestrians at night, to those that illumine the halls of the great; the latter being sometimes eight or ten feet in height, and three feet in diameter. The most costly are composed of transparent silk, adorned with landscapes, birds, flowers, and fanciful devices, in colours of dazzling brightness; the framework being richly carved and gilt, and the cords and tassels by which they are suspended made of silk and gold thread. The possession of fine lanterns is a sort of passion among the Chinese, many of whom spend considerable sums in the gratification of this fancy.

The Feast of Lanterns, which takes place almost immediately after the celebration of the new year, is a festival of ancient date among the Chinese, and is the occasion of a most brilliant and beautiful spectacle. On the fifteenth day of the first moon, every city, village, and hamlet, throughout the country is splendidly illuminated with an infinite variety of these beautiful lanterns, which are hung up at every house, from the palace of the viceroy to the hut of the humble fisherman, the general feeling being a desire on the part of each to outshine his neighbour. The tradition respecting this festival is, that the wife of an emperor of one of the early dynasties, being extravagant and fond of pleasure, chose to have the palace illuminated every night with a thousand lights, which might supply the place of the sun, and keep up a perpetual day within her abode. This legend, which refers to a period antecedent to the era of Confucius, may be received as an evidence that the Feast of Lanterns was celebrated in China in very ancient times; but its real origin, like that of many other Chinese customs, is lost in obscurity, nor is it likely ever to be discovered. The illumination is continued for three nights, and is attended by a grand display of fireworks, in which the Chinese excel all other nations. Many of the lanterns, made purposely for these occasions, exhibit moving figures; such as huntsmen on horseback galloping round, ships sailing, troops of soldiers marching, or people dancing, all kept in motion by some ingenious contrivance not visible to the beholder. These are seen only at the houses of the rich mandarins, and, of course, attract vast crowds of spectators. The chief part of the many thousands of lanterns manufactured expressly for this festival are of horn, or a very strong transparent paper, made in Corea, which is used in most parts of China instead of window-glass; but even the commonest of them are elegant in shape, and gaily decorated: so that, altogether, the effect of the illumination must be very brilliant. Even the poor fishermen who dwell on the sea-shore, and those who live in boats on the rivers, will bestow as much as they can possibly spare of their hard earnings for the purchase of a fine lantern to exhibit on this festive occasion, so that even the waters are illumined: and as the towns and villages are neither few nor far between, the spectator placed upon any eminence beholds, on all sides, an illuminated panorama of the country. During the festival the gates of the cities are left open at night, that the country people may enjoy the pleasure of seeing the illuminations.

Besides the annual festivals already mentioned, there are several others, to which the people run with great eagerness. Though not exactly a joyous ceremony, the custom of visiting the tombs of ancestors is kept up from year to year. It is in the spring that they flock to the burying-places, sweep the tombs, and see or order that due repairs be effected. This duty over, they decorate themselves with flowers, and eat, drink, and sing. The "Dragon Festival," which also falls in spring, is described as very pretty and interesting. It is a sort of regatta, and is in honour of some famous sage who was drowned long ago. The boats are shaped like Indian canoes, with the figure of a dragon at the prow; and are otherwise highly ornamented and gilded. They are immensely long, and the rowers use short sculls. They dart up and down the river in vast numbers, and with fearful speed, for the long narrow boats cut through the water like birds through the air. Some of the boats contain more than sixty men, and the sport sometimes continues two or three days. The boatmen shoot hither and thither, as if searching for some lost object; and this commemorates the efforts made to discover the ancient sage when he fell into the river. In the meantime the boatmen shout, and the people on shore beat gongs, wave flags, and fire innumerable crackers, to inspire the rowers to redouble their exertions. If firing crackers can be styled a recreation, it is one that lasts in China all the year round, and is not neglected by a human being in the empire. There is, probably, no single moment in the round of the twenty-four hours in which thousands of crackers are not exploded in some part of the country or other. As the flag of England is said never to be furled, so with as much truth it may be said that the Chinese crackers are never silent. They are extremely cheap, not costing more than a penny a pack. No one takes the trouble to light one cracker at a time. They set fire to a whole pack; and generally when a new house is finished, or when some other pleasant event has happened, they burn five hundred packs.

But the great amusement of the people of all ranks, and at all seasons of the year, is the theatre. A lively American writer has recently given us some very amusing notes on this subject, and we believe them to be as correct as they are entertaining:—

"The actors are formed into strolling companies, and travel all over China. They perform their parts admirably, and excel in pantomime. The Hong merchants sometimes engage a company for several days, and throw open their hongs to the foreigners as well as the rabble. I accepted an invitation to attend one of these exhibitions, and the tea merchant at whose establishment the show took place politely expressed his desire that all should come.

"Two or three of us went together to the hong, and were ushered into an apartment in the second story, looking out on to the courtyard, and furnished with seats ascending as they retreated, so that the hindmost spectators could see as well as those in front. These benches, with the exception of a few reserved seats, were densely occupied by the respectable and well-dressed friends of the hongist.

"We were politely ushered into the first seats, looking immediately on the stage opposite. As soon as we were comfortably seated a boy brought to us very nice tea and fans, as the weather was warm. Below us, in the open yard, were the closely-packed hundreds admitted to the exhibition without charge, but obliged to stand, and with the sun beating down on their unprotected heads. They were very orderly and quiet, however, and watched every change of scene with intense interest. The stage was formed of bamboo poles, strongly tied together, and the floor was of boards, resting on the horizontal reeds, and covered with a carpet. The ceiling was of a piece with the splendour of the theatre, and composed of rather dingy matting. There was no drop or green curtain, no footlights, or scenery of any description, and the orchestra was behind the performers. There was a retiring room at the back of the stage, whither the actors resorted to change their dresses. The beauty of the establishment was much improved by a number of half-naked cooleys, who had climbed up the bamboo poles to have a better view of the scene, where they clung like apes; and one or two, more fortunate than the rest, had actually managed to get on top of the frame, and sat with their dusky legs dangling through holes in the matting. The performance was ludicrous, and yet very good in its way; in pantomime the actors were masters, and the expressions of their countenances admirably suited to the feelings they meant to express. The dresses were truly gorgeous; it is in costume, not in scenery, that great sums are expended, and that of actors is always a representation of the ancient dresses of China before the Mantchu-Tartar conquest.

"They were of the richest silks and satins, stiff with gold thread and gay embroidery, and well put on.

"The actors screamed and bawled at the top of their voices, and seemed to lash themselves into the most furious excitement. There was a vast deal of fighting, and, on the least pretence, the heroes of the piece drew their swords and hacked at each other without mercy; and every moment the orchestra would come in with an awful crash, and nearly drive one frantic by the din of gongs, the squeak of stringed instruments, and the shrill shrieks of fifes. I soon became aware that I could not appreciate the performance; for when I laughed at the apparent absurdities, all the Chinese looked on with breathless interest; and sometimes during a part that I considered particularly stupid, I would hear loud explosions of delight, and a contagious chuckle would animate the whole assembly.

"There were no women to be seen, either as spectators or actors, though the impersonation of feminine character was so admirable, and the dress so perfectly worn, that I came away at first under the belief that I had seen females acting. Delicate-looking lads of seventeen or nineteen are selected to personate the softer sex; and when the dress is put on, the false head-gear assumed, the feet squeezed into the smallest of shoes, and the voice mimics the high shrill tones of womanhood, the disguise is complete.

"The faces of the boys are painted, as is usual with the females in China, and the womanly way of moving, talking, and even thinking, seems to be adopted. They make love in the most natural and sentimental manner, assume airs of coquetry and raillery with equal ease, and play the belle and the mother much better than nine-tenths of the European actresses. In truth, they sometimes personate the wife in her several capacities, and in one instance a stage lady began to pant, and groan, and give indications of increasing her family, and when she had retired, a rag-baby of the most natural order was brought in, very shortly followed by the mother, who had rapidly recovered from her confinement.

"There was, however, no indecency committed.

"To the bamboo poles in front are attached boards, with the name of the play represented inscribed on them, and these are changed with the drama. A play will frequently last two or three days; the one I saw occupied nearly twelve hours, and when I returned in the afternoon the boards were unchanged, and the same old fellows were wrapped up in the story that I had seen all eyes and ears in the morning.

"When it is time to go to dinner the orchestra suddenly ceases to emit its deafening clangour, the actors roll up the stage carpet and adjourn to some eating-house, the audience disperse till the meal is over, when the actors come back as violent as ever. The crowd will stand patiently for hours under the hot sun to enjoy a performance which depends more on the excellence of the actors than on the merits of the play.

"The actors vary their exhibitions by gymnastic exercises, some of which are very remarkable. In one that I saw, a number of men formed a circle, joining hands, and on the shoulders of these stood another tier, and a third group of three or four persons stood on the top of the pyramid. Those beneath then commenced dancing, and finally went whirling round like a top, until they attained a fearful velocity. I expected to see some of the fellows go off in a tangent, but they all managed to retain their hold, those above jumping and kicking as they revolved.

"As there is no scenery, of course the audience have to imagine it, and transport the players in their fancy from point to point; but the actors have a very cheap and ingenious method of locomotion. If they wish to mount on horseback, they bestride a chair and crack a whip; and if the hero of the piece desires to go to Pekin, he skips across the stage, claps his hands, bawls with joy, and informs the hearers that he has arrived. The fashionable world at once believe him, and go to court without presentations. There are hundreds of dramatic authors in China, their name is legion, and their productions seem to be the most popular reading of the Chinese. A few plays have been translated into English, but are hardly adapted for the European stage.

"Books are extremely cheap in China, and the 'sing-song' books, as they are called, are more lively and entertaining than most others. All the plays represented can be found in print, and a complete collection would outnumber the British drama.

"The same company do not visit a city more than once in three or four years, and each troop have a number of performances in which they are particularly skilled.

"The only harm likely to result from theatrical exhibitions arises from the narrow and densely-crowded streets; if a panic ensues, many are trampled to death, and a short time after I left Canton a lamentable tragedy occurred. A fire took place during a performance, and upwards of two thousand persons lost their lives by the flames and by their frantic efforts to escape destruction."*

All the cities of China are walled round, and some of them are described as bearing a great resemblance to the old feudal towns of Europe; except that, in general, they are of wider extent. Peking is supposed to be about twenty-five miles in circumference. It is divided into two distinct parts: the northern, or Tartar city; and the southern, or Chinese city. The former, which is inhabited chiefly by Tartars, is surrounded by a wall, with nine gates, always guarded by soldiers, and contains the imperial palace, which, with its magnificent gardens, stands in the centre, within a space of about five miles in circumference, enclosed by another wall, and called the Forbidden City, as no one may enter it but privileged persons. The Tartar city contains the residences of all the grandees of the court, the halls of the Six Tribunals, the Hanlin College, several superb temples, a Mohammedan mosque, and many other public buildings. The principal streets are very long and wide, and contain numerous shops, as well as private houses; but they are not paved, which is a great inconvenience in wet weather; neither are they lighted at night: but as no one is allowed to be abroad after dark, unless on some very particular occasion, it is not of much importance that they should be so, particularly as any one who is obliged to go out must carry a lantern with him. Large spaces of ground in this part of Peking are occupied by ornamental gardens belonging to the rich mandarins, and it is adorned with a fine lake, a mile and a half in length, and more than a quarter of a mile in breadth, crossed by a bridge of nine arches, constructed entirely of white marble. The banks of this lake are bordered with trees, among which the drooping willow bends its graceful branches; and in the midst of this expanse of water is an islet, adorned with a temple and an elegant pagoda, the never-failing ornaments of Chinese scenery. Peking is, therefore, by no means devoid of natural beauties; and even the old, or Chinese town, which is the trading part of the capital, contains large gardens and fields, where vegetables are grown for the daily supply of the markets; and also many nursery-grounds, where flowers are cultivated expressly for the adornment of the ladies of Peking, who wear them in their hair. This simple and elegant mode of decorating the hair is generally adopted in all parts of China, and when natural flowers are not to be obtained, artificial ones are substituted; but a female head is seldom seen without the one or the other, which, among the higher classes, are mixed with golden bodkins, jewels, and other ornaments.

---

* Osmond Tiffany, jun. "The Canton Chinese; or, the American's Sojourn in the Celestial Empire." Boston, 1849.

The temples in this part of the capital are very magnificent, especially those dedicated to Heaven and Earth; the former standing in the centre of a spacious enclosure, elevated by three stages, each ascended by a flight of marble steps, and surrounded by a handsome balustrade. Within the enclosure is an edifice, styled the Palace of Abstinence, to which it is customary for the emperor to retire for three days, before the grand ceremony of sacrificing in the temple, which is performed annually, at the winter solstice, when the emperor officiates in his character of high-priest; and on this occasion, the produce of the field he ploughed in the spring, with the silks cultured and woven within the precincts of the palace, are offered up to the supreme ruler of the universe, under the name of Tien, or Lord of Heaven. The procession to the temple on the day of the sacrifice is very magnificent, as the emperor is accompanied by the whole court, besides a numerous cavalcade of civil and military mandarins, all in full dress. It is remarkable that, in a religious procession, there should be no priests, nor any symbols of its sacred character; unless we may so consider a vast number of lighted flambeaux, and about four hundred gorgeous lanterns, which are carried in the train. On the day of this solemnity, as well as that of the ploughing festival, the emperor is visible, but is seldom seen in public at any other time, or passes the boundary wall of his own park, except during the annual hunting expedition, or when he removes from one royal residence to another.

The streets of Peking are crowded, noisy, and bustling; for there, as in all other great cities of China, it is a common custom for men of the lower orders to work at their several trades in the streets, where they sit with their tools around them, as if they were in a workshop. Cobblers, tinkers, and blacksmiths, set up their apparatus wherever they may obtain a job; and medicine venders, who are generally fortune-tellers also, establish themselves, with their compounds ranged in order before them, in any convenient locality. There are also a great number of pedlers, ballad-singers, and mountebanks, who contribute no less to the noise than to the throng. But the most remarkable persons who exercise their calling in the streets are the barbers, who are all licensed, and shave the heads and plait the tails of their customers with the utmost gravity in the open air. All the men of the lower orders, as well as some of a higher class, have this operation performed in the street; a custom that would probably fall into disuse, if the Chinese ladies were in the habit of walking abroad more freely. The shops have open fronts, gaily painted, and before the door of each is a wooden pillar, covered with gilt characters, describing the nature of the goods sold within; and as these sign-posts are usually decorated with gay streamers floating from the top, they have not been unaptly compared, in appearance, to a line of ship masts with colours flying. The windows of all the houses in Peking are made of Corea paper, very frequently of a rose colour, and strengthened by a thin framework of bamboo; for there is no glass in the north of China, nor is it yet very common in the south, although more frequently seen now than in the last century. The houses in Peking are seldom more than one story in height, and have flat roofs, which are often covered with flowers and shrubs; for as there are no fire-places, so there are no chimneys, the rooms being warmed by pans of lighted charcoal, of which fuel great quantities are brought from Tartary on dromedaries, and these animals are constantly seen thus laden in the streets of the city.

The new town was partly built, and greatly embellished, by the Emperor Yong-lo, when he removed the court from Nanking to Peking, which was then entirely inhabited by Chinese; but when it was taken by the Mantchus, the native people were all driven out of the new town, and the houses given to the Tartar conquerors, since which time it has been called the Tartar city.

Our knowledge of the great metropolis of the Celestial Empire is still imperfect; but in a country where such strict uniformity prevails throughout, and where the manners and dresses of the people are regulated by the laws, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the inhabitants of Peking resemble those of other Chinese cities. In the new town the streets are wide and handsome, but the old town presents the same general features that distinguish all the great cities of China; the most striking of which are the high walls, narrow streets, open-fronted shops, gaily-decorated temples and triumphal arches, with a constant succession of sedans and noisy processions, the bustle being increased by the incessant activity of itinerant artificers and venders of almost every commodity; amongst whom not a few are water-sellers, one of which class is here represented.

The streets of Canton are mostly particularised by their separate trades, one being entirely occupied by shoemakers, another by drapers, a third by jewellers, &c.; and this distinctive arrangement of the trades is, probably, adopted in most of the towns. The triumphal arches, which are seen in most of the principal streets, are ornamental gateways that have been erected in honour of eminent persons; by which may be understood those who have distinguished themselves by their wisdom and virtues, either in public or private life. The emperor Kang-hy, for instance, ordained that every widow who attained to her hundredth year without forming a second matrimonial engagement, should be presented with thirty taels of silver for the erection of a triumphal arch, with an inscription in her praise: for although a woman is allowed to take a second husband if she pleases, and many do so, it is accounted far more honourable to remain faithful to the memory of the first. There is a curious custom with regard to marriage among the lower orders; which is, that of begging in the public road to raise money for a wedding procession. A few years ago an English gentleman, in walking near a burial-ground at Macao, observed a number of women standing together making a doleful noise, which he supposed to be a lament for some departed relative; but, on inquiry, he learned that they were soliciting donations from the passers-by to facilitate the marriage of a young couple, who were very anxious to be united, but had not money to pay the expenses of the bridal ceremonies; and such is the superstition of the Chinese, that no happiness would be expected to result from a union unless the bride were carried home in due form.

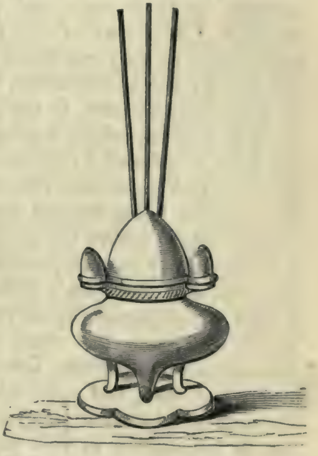
The great mass of the people in China are the peasantry, or land cultivators, an industrious, frugal, and, at least until recent times, a contented race of people, strongly attached to the habits of their forefathers, and decidedly averse to any innovations in their ancient customs. So vast is the population of this immense empire, that its demands upon agriculture for the necessaries of life could not be satisfied without great activity on the part of the peasantry; hence they labour incessantly to render the soil doubly productive, by constantly irrigating, and frequently manuring, the land. By these means they produce two crops of rice in the year, and sometimes three; or a careful farmer will raise sufficient cotton in the interval between his rice crops to make clothing for his whole family.

The farms are in general small, and are sometimes cultivated by the proprietors, sometimes by the tenants, who rent them of rich landowners; for there are many of the mandarins and merchants who possess very large landed estates, which are always let to cultivators, as no individual, however rich, the emperor alone excepted, presumes to convert into a park or pleasure-ground a large extent of land that may be made to contribute towards the subsistence of the community at large. According to the law, all landed property, on the death of its owner, is divided into equal portions among his sons, with the exception of the eldest, who has a double share; but the system of clanship, which is universal among the agriculturists, renders this law of no real weight, as they all live together and fare alike, each individual labouring for the common benefit of the little community to which he belongs. It is not uncommon, in a large family, for the brothers to make an agreement among themselves to dispense with the services of one of their number, that he may devote himself entirely to letters, the rest supporting him during his studies, in the hope that he will ultimately obtain degrees that may enable him to repay them for the benefits they have conferred upon him. In some few cases this is of great advantage to the whole family; but there are many thousands of these poor students who never rise higher than to the first degree, nor obtain any employment more lucrative than that of a schoolmaster, or tutor in a private family.

All aged relatives, whether male or female, are invariably supported by the younger branches of the family. The force of domestic affection, and the respect paid to it, were fully exemplified during the late war, when it was no unusual case for a soldier to obtain permission of the general to return home to visit a dying grandmother, or attend upon a sick parent; duties so sacred in the eyes of the rulers of China as to supersede all others.

In former times, every male at the age of sixteen paid a capitation-tax, which ceased when he had attained his sixtieth year, and a pension for life was then settled on him by the government. There is no capitation-tax at present, nor are any pensions granted to the aged: but there is an imperial gift of thirty taels, to which every man and woman is entitled at the age of one hundred.

The cottages of the peasantry are generally described as being neat and comfortable in appearance. They are but scantily provided with furniture, made of bamboo, by the peasants themselves; the articles in use consisting chiefly of tables, stools, and beds, or rather boards: for the bed is but a board laid upon two wooden benches, with a mat spread upon it, and surrounded by curtains of coarse hemp, to keep off the mosquitoes. The rich have softer beds, and handsome bedsteads placed in a recess, with curtains of silk or gauze, according to the season.



Every house, belonging either to rich or poor, has its household gods, to which offerings are frequently made according to the mode of Chinese worship, consisting of cakes, rice, plates of meats, and cups of tea, which are placed before the images for a certain space of time, and then taken away to be consumed by the family. At the great public festivals, tables covered with offerings brought by the people are set in the streets, or in the temples, and are ranged with the nicest care. Each table displays a variety of choice viands, such as ducks, fowls, pigs' heads, large cakes, fruits, and confectionary of all kinds, with wine, and rows of very small cups filled with tea. The tables are illuminated with large wax tapers, and in every offering is fixed a lighted joss-stick, which burns very slowly, and when exhausted is replaced by another. The word Joss is supposed to be a corruption of *Dios*, as it does not belong to the Chinese language, nor does it appear to have been in use before the settlement of the Portuguese in China; and this conjecture is the more reasonable, from the fact of there being other words now in common use, even amongst the Chinese themselves, which owe their origin to the Portuguese: as, for instance, mandarin, the native term for which is quan. As long as the festival lasts the tables remain untouched, but as soon as it is ended the offerings are distributed among the crowd, so that the lower orders may be said literally to share in all public festivities.

The commencement of a new year is the time for feasting and merry-making in China. The Christmas of the olden time in England was not a season of more universal merriment than this is in the flowery land. On this most important of all the Chinese festivals, high and low, the rulers and their people, indulge in a cessation from the cares of life, and give up all their thoughts to pleasure. A regular order is issued by the Board of Rites, that all government business shall be suspended from the twentieth day of the twelfth moon to the same day of the first moon; thus allowing to all the mandarins in office a holiday of thirty days, unless any particular business should demand their attention; and they do not fail to avail themselves of this release, by locking up their seals and preparing to enjoy their long vacation. The rest of the people devote as much time to amusement as they can spare from their ordinary avocations; but those must be miserable, indeed, who do not join, for two or three days at least, in the general gaieties.

The festival, which begins at the midnight that closes the old year, is ushered in by the ceremonies of offerings, incense burning, and numerous other rites, which last till daylight; the temples being lighted up, the pagodas illuminated, and candles set up before the domestic idols in every house. As soon as the day appears, visits of congratulation are paid and received, and new-year's gifts are sent to particular friends, always accompanied by a visiting-ticket of red paper, on which is written the name of the donor, and a list of the presents sent, consisting usually of silks, fine tea, sweetmeats, ornaments, toys, and other trifles suited to the occasion. All the actors, musicians, jugglers, and tumblers in the empire, are in requisition at this period of recreation, when grand entertainments are given by the rich, and plays are performed in the streets, at the expense of government, or by a subscription among the inhabitants, for the amusement of the poor. The lower orders are very much addicted to gambling, smoking, and drinking, particularly in the towns, where there are plenty of booths for their accommodation, to which they resort as soon as their daily labours are ended. These taverns, which are merely open sheds, are much frequented at all seasons, but at holiday times they are crowded from morning till night with noisy revellers.

The last day of the year is not quite so joyful a one as the first, for among the many regulations of the Chinese government is a law, by which all men are obliged to settle accounts with their creditors on that particular day; and it is considered so disgraceful to leave any debt unpaid, that the unlucky debtor who cannot discharge his pecuniary obligations at the appointed time is liable to be treated with insult and injury by those to whom the money is owing; and among the vulgar, it is not uncommon for an individual under such circumstances to have his furniture broken, and his family annoyed in every possible way: nor can he apply to the magistrates for redress, however serious the injury he may sustain, because the fact of not having paid his debts would render his complaint of no avail.

The necessity of being punctual in payments involves, also, that of economy, one of the moral virtues instilled into the minds of the people by their magistrates, who are obliged by law to give instruction in public on the first and fifteenth days of every moon, by reading one of the sixteen discourses that treat on all the principal duties of social life in every station. The first lesson is on filial piety, and the respect which a younger should pay to an elder brother. These duties are so strictly enjoined and enforced, that a few years since a man was put to death for having beaten his mother, and his wife shared the same fate for having assisted him. The act was regarded as a crime so heinous, that the house in which it was perpetrated was deemed unfit for the residence of any human being, and was dug up from the foundation, that not a stone of it might remain. The magistrates were all disgraced; the wife's mother was severely punished; and the scholars of that polluted district were prohibited from attending the public examinations for three years. The second of the sixteen discourses exhorts the people to preserve a respectful remembrance of their ancestors, and enjoins them not to neglect to visit their tombs at the proper periods. The principal subjects of the other lectures are, the benefits of concord in the villages; the respect due to the profession of husbandry and the culture of silk; the advantages of economy and industry; the education of youth; application to business; obedience to the laws; and the punishments incurred by those who are negligent of their duties.

The care of admonishing the people belongs to the mandarins of small communities; but the viceroys have also to perform their part as teachers, by assembling all the inferior governors within their province about once a-year, to give them instructions as to their respective duties; to which they are bound to listen with respect, as coming from the emperor himself by the voice of his representative.

It appears, however, that all these moral lectures are now printed from the ancient originals, and that, in order to save themselves trouble, the mandarins merely enjoin the people, or their head-men, to read them at least once in every year. At every step one must be careful not to confound theory with practice, and not to attribute, unreservedly, the strict ancient usages to the existing generation, whose latitudinarianism, in general, is notorious.

The real condition of ladies in China, and the position they hold in society, are certainly not yet very accurately known. They are seldom seen in the streets, it is true; but that is sufficiently accounted for by their inability to walk with ease; and as they do sometimes appear abroad, and are often observed at the windows without making any attempt to conceal their faces from the gaze of strangers, it is evident they enjoy far more liberty than the Turkish ladies, although it is not the custom for the sexes to mix together in general society. When a mandarin gives a grand entertainment, his wife frequently invites her friends to witness the theatrical performances, and various amusing exhibitions that are going forward during the dinner. These they can see, without being seen, from a latticed gallery provided for that purpose; and thus they are not entirely debarred from the enjoyment of the festivities, although they do not mingle with the guests.

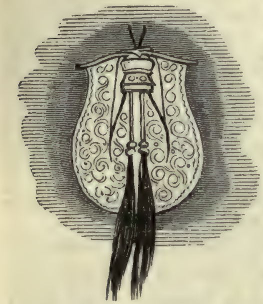
But we must consider the sex degraded wherever the system of polygamy prevails, and wherever (as in China and all these eastern countries) men stock their harems according to their wealth and rank. Another source of degradation should seem to be the universal practice of buying and selling women. All classes of Chinese purchase their wives from the parents or legal guardians of the young women. A family of handsome daughters, particularly if well trained in ceremonials and Chinese accomplishments, are often a source of great profit to their parents. Some of the mandarins appear to be incapable of understanding that women are not sold in England. Since our war with them, the second mandarin of an imperial war-junk visited one of our ships at

Hong-Kong, and was there mightily smitten by one of our fair countrywomen, a young married lady. He immediately offered to purchase her. But though so much smitten, the second mandarin had a frugal mind, and the national turn for bargaining. He began by offering a low price, telling the English gentleman that he did not think that, in the present state of the market, he would get more for her. Finding this proposition rejected, he bade for her at a gradually increasing rate, until he offered what he considered the highest price that ought ever to be given for a wife; namely, 6000 taels, or about 600*l*. English, informing the gentleman, at the same time, that he should require neither her wardrobe nor her jewels. Upon learning that it was not the custom of Englishmen to traffic in ladies, he apologised, and then begged to be allowed to buy her gold watch and chain.

The condition of the poor women in China is apparent to all visitors, and deplorable enough. They seem to be condemned to an extraordinary share of the hardest labour. They work in the fields, harrowing, hoeing, and even ploughing; they work in the shops of carpenters and blacksmiths; they carry burthens through the streets and along the high roads; they work like the men on board the river junks; and they scull or paddle half of the sampans, or wherries, which ply on the river at Canton. An Irish sailor was heard to declare, that in China nearly all the boats were *manned* with women.

As far as European observation has extended, all visiting in China is conducted in a manner which is very formal, according to our notions. The most intimate friend, in making a morning call, does not alight from his chair until he has sent in his visiting-ticket, that the master of the house may give him a proper reception, according to his rank, as it is the etiquette to hurry to the door, in some cases, to receive a guest; while in others, it is only necessary to meet him in the middle of the room; and in the former case, the bowings are lower and more numerous than in the latter. The law has decided that the superior shall take precedence in entering the room, yet it is considered polite to make a pretence of refusing to go in first, and a few unmeaning compliments always pass on the occasion, both parties knowing very well which of them is to take the lead.

It is not the custom in China to uncover the head, unless invited so to do; in warm weather, therefore, a gentleman usually says to his friend, "Pray put off your cap!" and it would be a mark of ill-manners to omit this compliment. Tea is always offered to a morning visitor, and is usually accompanied with sweetmeats and pipes, for the Chinese are as fond of smoking as the Turks, and every gentleman wears an embroidered tobacco-pouch at his girdle. It is not exactly certain when tobacco was first introduced into China, but it is supposed that it found its way there soon after the discovery of America, as the Chinese were in the habit of smoking before the time of the Mantchu-Tartar conquest, although there is no mention of such a custom prior to the sixteenth century.



The forbidden pleasure of opium-smoking had also been indulged in to a great extent, when the events transpired that gave rise to our late war.

Smoking is not confined to the male sex, nor to the lower class of females; but every Chinese lady has her richly-ornamented pipe, which would really be an elegant appendage if it did not involve so unfeminine an indulgence. It is also related that not a few of the ladies intoxicate themselves by smoking opium. The usual employments among the Chinese ladies are, working embroidery, playing on different musical instruments, and painting on silk and rice-paper. It is not supposed that they possess generally any accomplishments more intellectual than these; yet as some ladies are known to write to their husbands when absent, it is clear that there are individual cases where the art of writing has been acquired, and, of course, that of reading; which might lead us to conjecture that, in some of the numerous families where private tutors are now employed, the girls may be allowed to participate, to a certain extent, in the studies of their brothers: but this is a mere supposition, for which there is no authority.

The costume of the Chinese being regulated by law, is not subject to the caprice of fashion or individual taste, except in such trifling particulars as produce no alteration in the general style. The dress of a Chinese lady is not different from that worn in ancient times: it consists of a short loose robe, confined round the throat with a narrow collar. The robe is worn over a long full skirt, and both are frequently made of richly-embroidered silks. The sleeves are wide, and sufficiently long to fall over the hands, and the hair is gathered up in a knot at the top of the head, and is fastened with golden bodkins, and adorned with flowers, They all wear trousers, like the Turkish women; and their tiny shoes are of satin, silk, or velvet, beautifully worked with gold, silver, and coloured silks, the soles being of rice-paper, from one to two inches in thickness, and covered outside with white leather, made from pigs' skin. The little girls are very becomingly attired in short dresses, reaching to the throat, and worn over the full trousers. The hair, which is combed from the forehead, hangs down in ringlets on each

Domestic Scene. Ladies at their usual employments.

side, and the back hair is plaited into one or two long tails; in which style it remains until the young lady is about to become a bride, when the more matronly fashion is adopted, and the braids and curls are formed into a knot, intermixed with flowers and jewels.

A gentleman usually wears, in the house, a loose robe of silk, cloth, or, in summer, of some lighter material, with a cap also suited to the season. If he be a mandarin, a ball is worn on the top of the cap, to designate the class to which he belongs. The summer cap is as light as chip, to which it bears a resemblance. It is made of bamboo, in the shape of a cone; and, if the wearer be a government officer, has attached to the ball a crimson silk ornament, which hangs like a fringe. The winter head-dress is of satin, with a wide brim of black velvet, turned up all round, and the usual adornments of ball and fringe at the top. A mandarin of the first rank is known by a red ball on his cap; a transparent blue one denotes the second class; and the other grades are distinguished by white, opaque blue, crystal, gilt, and other balls.

A Chinese is not at liberty to wear his summer or his winter cap when he pleases, but is obliged to wait for the time appointed by the Board of Rites for making the alteration in his head-gear. The announcement is made in the Gazette, when the viceroy of the province lays aside the cap he has been wearing for the previous six months, to adopt that of the approaching season, and the example is immediately followed by all other mandarins and officers within his government. It is very usual to wear at home a cap of silk or velvet, fitting closely to the head. Furs are very much used in the winter costume; for as the Chinese have no fires in their apartments, they wear a great quantity of warm clothing, putting on one garment over another until they are sufficiently protected from the cold. Dress boots are of velvet or satin, with the universal thick white soles; and a fan, in an embroidered case hanging from the girdle, is as indispensable a part of the costume of a Chinese gentleman as his cap or gown.

The lower orders in the towns, men, women, and children, all wear loose frocks of Nanking cloth, usually dyed blue, and gathered round the neck; but the labouring men in the country work in large cotton trousers, with a shirt over them, and a broad bamboo hat, which answers the purpose of an umbrella, to shield them from the sun and rain. But the most extraordinary article of apparel worn by the Chinese labourer is a cloak made of reeds, which has a very rough, unsightly appearance, but is extremely useful in wet weather, either in the fields or in the boats.

The river population in China, as will be noticed more particularly in speaking of Canton, form a very large portion of the community in that province, and were formerly considered as a distinct and inferior race. Until the time of Kien-long they were not permitted to intermarry with the people on shore; but that enlightened sovereign removed the restriction, and those who live on the water now enjoy equal privileges with those who have their dwellings on land, and a boatman may take to wife a village lass without incurring any penalty. It is thought that many of the poor people who emigrate to Singapore, and other settlements, often take their wives with them, notwithstanding the laws that so strictly prohibit women from leaving the country; but there is no doubt that the laws against emigration are altogether very much relaxed, and it is probable that the government may purposely refrain from being very vigilant in seeing them enforced.

It is rather curious that, among the personal decorations of the Chinese, there is not one they prize more highly, or on which they bestow more attention, than the plaited tail, which, at first, was detested as a disgraceful badge of dependence, and is still a sign of their subjection to the Tartar rule. The beauty of the tail consists in its length and thickness, and many who have not hair enough to make a handsome braid, supply the deficiency with false hair and silk; but whatever pains and cost a man may bestow upon improving his appearance by the aid of art, he can have no pretensions to personal attraction unless his figure indicate that he has not been kept upon spare diet; and, indeed, there are no people in the world who are fonder of eating than the Chinese.

The tables of the wealthy are supplied with a great variety of rich dishes, among which is a soup that supplies the place of our turtle. It is made of the nests of birds, the trade in which is a government monopoly. These nests are principally brought from Java, Sumatra, and the coasts of Malacca; they are the work of a kind of sea-swallow, and are obtained among the rocks with difficulty. They consist of a glutinous substance, formed by the bird itself, and, after being properly cleansed, they are packed in boxes and sent to Canton, where they are often worth more than their weight in gold. They can be purchased only by the rich, and by them only after the emperor and great mandarins at Peking have been supplied. Sharks' fins are esteemed a great luxury. There appears to be scarcely an end to the number and variety of the culinary preparations of these people; but of all their dishes, there are very few that are palatable to a European stomach. Our lively American traveller says:—"There are more forms and ceremonies connected with feasts than I have paper to spare for them; but I think no enthusiast would care to go through two Chinese dinners. The dishes, palatable as they look, have a very strong smack of castor oil, and you can scarcely find one that has not some repulsive taste. I was once tempted by a plate of exquisite-looking eggs and vegetables, and, oh, that rash swallow! I feel faint as I write."*

The Chinese take wine with each other, and when they have done so, turn the cup upside down, to show that they have emptied its contents, this being a point of good breeding. The wine, which is a liquor extracted from rice, is always taken hot, and is poured by a servant into the cups from a silver vessel like a coffee-pot. The dinner-service consists of porcelain bowls, of various sizes, with plates shaped like saucers, and sometimes a few silver dishes. Instead of knives and forks, they use what are termed chopsticks, which are small round sticks of ivory or ebony; but they have also spoons of ebony, and silver ladles, for the soups. The dinner is followed by a dessert of fruits and confectionary, after which the company usually adjourn to another room to take tea, and amuse themselves; but the Englishmen who have dined in a familiar manner with the mandarins, or Hong merchants of Canton, have never been gratified by the company of the ladies.

---

* Osmond Tiffany, "The Canton Chinese, &c."

The shopkeepers of China usually take only two meals in the day; one between eight and ten in the morning, the other between four and six in the afternoon. Their usual fare is rice and vegetables, with a little pork or fish; their ordinary drink is tea, but they sometimes indulge in shamsoo, a spirituous liquor distilled from rice, large quantities of which are made at Tinghae, the capital of Chusan.

The bakers in China are chiefly employed in making pastry, and flat unleavened cakes, the latter constituting the only bread which is known in China. Their ovens, or rather baking-machines, consist of a flat plate of iron, suspended by chains from a beam over a copper filled with burning charcoal. The cakes are placed on the iron plate, which can be raised or depressed at pleasure, by means of the chains; and as this is the only mode of baking among the Chinese, their bread is necessarily made in the form of cakes, and is eaten only as a dainty. At Canton the process of cooking is carried on over charcoal fires, and as there are no chimneys to any of the houses, a part of the brick-work above the fire in their kitchens, or cooking-places, is left open, to suffer the

vapour to escape. There are plenty of eating-houses in that city, both for rich and poor; those for the latter being open sheds, where they can procure a hot breakfast or dinner at any hour of the day, for a very trifling sum. The superior sort are fine handsome hotels, where gentlemen of the higher classes can dine when their families are out of town.

Our distinguished botanist, Mr. Fortune, has lately given us a description of a road-side inn in the provinces. It must be borne in mind that this gentleman was travelling in disguise, and passing for a Chinese.

"The inn was a large and commodious building, extending backwards from the main street of the town. Its front was composed of a number of boards or shutters, which could be removed at pleasure. The whole of these were taken down in the morning and put up again at night. The floor of the building was divided into three principal compartments, the first facing the street, the second being behind it, and the third at the furthest end. Some small rooms which were formed on each side were the bedrooms.

"Coolies and chair-bearers crowded that part of the building next to the street, in which they had their meals and smoked their pipes. The second and third divisions were destined for travellers, but as there were large doors between each, which stood wide open, it was easy to see through from the front to the back part of the premises.

"When I got out of my chair I followed 'mine host' into the second compartment, in which I observed a table at each side of the room. One of them being unoccupied I sat down at it, and with becoming gravity lighted my Chinese pipe and began to smoke. The host set a cup of tea before me, and left me to attend upon some one else. I had now leisure to take a survey of the strange scene around me. At the opposite table sat two merchants, who a single glance told me were from the province of Canton. They were evidently eyeing me with great interest, and doubtless knew me to be a foreigner the moment I entered the room. One of them I had frequently seen at Shang-hae. This person looked as if he wished me to recognise him, but in this he was disappointed, for I returned his inquiring look as if I had never seen him before. I now observed him whispering to his companion, and thought I heard the word 'Fankwei' used. In the meantime Sing-Hoo, who had just arrived, came in, and began to bustle about and get in the dinner, which was soon ready. The host was a civil sort of man, but very inquisitive, and as he set down the dinner he put various questions to me. With Chinese politeness he asked me my name, my age, where I had come from, and whither I was bound; and to all such questions he received satisfactory answers. The Canton merchants were all eyes and ears while this conversation was going on, and one of them quietly prompted the innkeeper to ask a few more questions. These gentlemen wanted to know the starting-point of my journey, the particular part of Fokien to which I was bound, and the objects I had in view. As I could not see that answers to these questions concerned them very much, or could be of any use, I judged it better to keep them in the dark.

"Several dishes being now set before me, and a cup of wine poured out by the host, I took a sip of it, and, taking up my chopsticks, went on with my dinner. Having had great experience in the use of chopsticks, I could handle them now nearly as well as the Chinese themselves; and as I had been accustomed to all the formalities of a Chinese dinner, I went on with the most perfect confidence.

"When I had finished dinner, a wooden basin, containing warm water and a wet cloth, was placed before me, in order that I might wash my hands and face. Wringing the wet cloth, I rubbed my face, neck, and hands, well over with it in Chinese style. Having finished my ablution I returned again to the table. The dinner and dishes having in the meantime been removed, tea was again set before us.

"The Cantonmen still remained at the opposite table, but the greater part of the others who, at their instigation, had been taking sly peeps at me, had gone away. I suppose when they saw that I ate and drank just like the rest they must have felt some little surprise, and had their original opinion strengthened; namely, that after all I was only one of themselves.

"My chairbearers having dined as well as myself, they sent a message by Sing-Hoo to say that they were ready to proceed. Making a slight bow to mine host, and a slighter one to the Canton gentlemen, in Chinese style, I got into my chair and went my way."

Gambling with cards, dice, dominoes, and other contrivances, and gambling by betting, are excessively prevalent. A Chinese will bet upon anything, from two crickets in a basin to fighting quails and a combat of game cocks. According to the late Rev. C. Gutzlaff, and other missionaries and attentive observers, this is one of their great national vices. From childhood to old age they never get rid of the propensity. Some of the games played by the wealthier classes in-doors appear to be excessively childish; they, however, play at draughts, and have a sort of chess.

Among the out-door amusements of the commonalty, that of kite-flying is carried to a degree of perfection unseen in any other country. The kites are made in a variety of forms, as of birds, butterflies, or fishes; and the flyers often try their skill in bringing down each other's kites, in imitation of hawking. Foot-ball is a favourite pastime; and a game called jang, which is of very ancient date, and is played with two wooden toys in the form of a pair of shoes, one of which is placed on the ground and its fellow thrown from a distance, the object being to insert one within the other, and he who succeeds in doing so is the winner.

Our child's game of battledoor and shuttlecock is very prevalent, and is played by grown-up people as well as by children. There is, however, this difference,—the Chinese do not play with their hands, but with their feet, and their battledoors are the soles, the toes, or the instep of the very broad slippers they wear. The game thus played is still more common among the Siamese, whose dexterity at it is said to be surprising.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, ETC.

THE Chinese are deservedly celebrated for their industry and ingenuity; yet, in consequence of their reluctance to be taught by foreigners, they possess very little scientific knowledge, and succeed better in ornamental than in useful works. Those arts which chiefly contribute to the comforts and conveniences of life are but imperfectly understood, while those that depend on exertion of fancy and neatness of execution have attained to a high degree of excellence. They have very little machinery, and are strongly prejudiced against the introduction of any improvements that would tend to abridge manual labour. Even their agricultural implements are as few and simple as they were in the early days of the empire, yet, by dint of the excessive toil of the vast numbers of people employed, the lands are as well cultivated and as highly productive as they could possibly be by any improved system. The plough, the harrow, and the hoe, all of the rudest construction, are the chief implements used by a Chinese farmer, the spade being only seen occasionally. The plough is usually drawn by buffaloes, but sometimes that labour is performed by men, and even by women, among the lowest class of farmers. Water-wheels and chain-pumps are used for irrigating the lands. The water-wheel is an immense, yet very light machine, composed entirely of bamboo, its buckets for raising the water being made of the same material; it is fixed adjoining the banks of all such rivers as have the stream running one way, which keeps it going night and day, and supplies water to a large trough, which empties its contents into several channels that run through the fields in various directions, and thus keep them constantly watered. The chain-pump is used to raise water from the wells and ponds for the same purpose, and, being portable, is extremely useful to the Chinese labourer, who is never without one; consequently, the making of these machines is a branch of industry that affords employment to a great number of mechanics.

The great object of cultivation is rice, the staple food of all classes, from the prince to the peasant. Most of the plains present an endless succession of rice or paddy fields, which, in the early stage of the crops, exhibit a vast surface of bright green, but turn yellow as the grain ripens. The seed is first sown in small patches, flooded with a particular preparation of liquid manure, which promotes its immediate developement, so that in a few days the shoots are five or six inches in height, when they are transplanted to the fields, some of the labourers being employed in taking them up, others in making holes to receive them, and a third party in dropping them into the holes, about six together. All these men stand up to the ankles in water, for it is requisite that rice should be kept constantly wet, or it would be spoiled; but when the rice is ripe, the fields are drained, so that the reapers, whose labours commence about Midsummer, work on dry ground.

The second harvest is ripe in November, after which the ground is usually planted with cabbages, and other vegetables; but in some parts of the country a crop of cotton is obtained between the two rice crops.

Keang-nan, and the provinces adjoining, are those where cotton is more extensively cultivated; and in the neighbourhood of Nanking the cloth known by that name is made in large quantities. The weavers are all women, and work at their own homes; for there are no large manufactories in China, either for silks or cottons: so that there is scarcely a cottage throughout the empire where there is not some manufacture carried on, either for sale or home consumption, and generally for both.

The introduction of cotton instead of silk for clothing must have proved a material benefit to the lower classes, being so much more durable, and better suited to their occupations, than silk; yet it was not till after the accession of the Ming dynasty that it was cultivated in sufficient quantities to allow of its coming into general use. The extended cultivation of cotton was one of the causes of the almost entire disappearance of sheep from the southern provinces, for it was found that it would take much more land to supply a certain number of persons with mutton and wool than with rice and cotton; there the pastures were gradually turned into rice and cotton plantations, while sheep were banished to the mountains and less fertile parts of the country. For the same reason, cattle, horses, and other domestic animals, are scarce, the few that are kept for the purposes of husbandry are poor and ill-fed; for there is not a common on which they can graze, so that they are tied up in stalls when not employed in the fields. Dairy farms are unknown in China, where the people use neither milk, butter, nor cheese.

The land tax is said to amount to about one-tenth of the produce, and it is reckoned that about ten thousand boats are constantly engaged in carrying to Peking the tribute goods from different provinces, which serve to clothe and feed the army, and afford stores of grain for times of scarcity, as well as to furnish the numerous princes and government officers with the silks and rice that are distributed to them annually, as a part of their salaries. The state dresses of the emperor's guards are of silk, the making of which is a tax on the silk districts. The provinces that produce the finest silk are those of Chekeang, Keang-nan, or Nanking, and the country

adjoining; but there is a wild species of worm in many other parts of China that feeds on some of the common forest-trees, and from which is obtained a coarse kind of silk, which is very durable, but which will not take any dye, and is far less glossy and beautiful than the silk of the worm that feeds on the mulberry-tree.

The Chinese do not sell their best silk fabrics to foreigners, consequently we rarely see in this country the rich silks which they wear themselves. Their velvets are not equal to those of Europe, but their flowered damasks and crapes are superb. There are women who can earn as much as thirty dollars a-month by embroidering the beautiful shawls of China crape that are so much admired in this country.

A large portion of the peasantry in the silk districts are chiefly engaged in taking care of the mulberry plantations, which require constant attention that they may produce fine leaves, and the frequent pruning of the branches for that end destroys, in great measure, the beauty of the tree. The worms are kept in houses, in the centre of the grove, for it is an essential point in the management of them that they should be always surrounded by perfect stillness, as it is found that noise is extremely injurious, especially to the younger ones. The care of feeding and tending them belongs to the female part of the family, who also manage the silk after it is spun by the worms.

The other principal manufactures of China are porcelain, japanned ware, and paper. The great porcelain factories of King-te-ching are still carried on as they were in former times; but as the Chinese have made no improvements, either in the forms or the designs with which they ornament their ware, the Europeans now greatly surpass them in both these particulars, although perhaps the China ware may still be superior in quality to that manufactured in Europe.

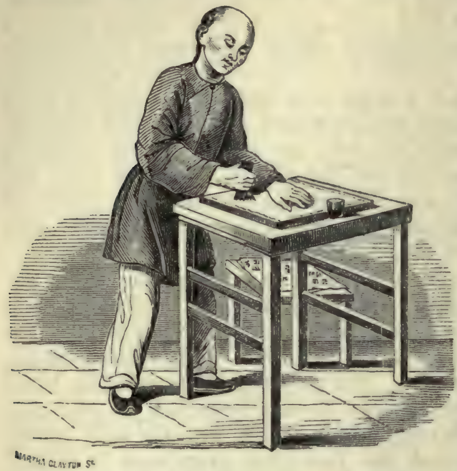
Another branch of industry, which has never been imitated with success in this part of the world, is that of making the beautiful japanned material that we often see in the shape of folding-screens, cabinets, tea-trays, boxes, and ornamental tables, so brilliantly adorned with paintings and gildings in that peculiar style which is at once recognised as Chinese. This is an art, however, in which the people of China yield the palm to those of Japan, from whom it derives its name;

and all the most costly screens and cabinets seen in the houses of the Chinese mandarins are the work of the Japanese, who send them to China. The varnish used for japanning them is the gum that oozes from a small tree, or rather a shrub, which grows both in China and Japan. The excellence of the art consists in laying on the varnish perfectly smooth, which is a tedious and difficult process, as many coatings are required, and each must be spread with the same nicety. The varnish will take any colour without losing its brilliancy, so that all the painting is executed upon the japanned surface; and although the Chinese have no high or pure art, we cannot refuse to give them credit for their skill in the execution of the ornamental designs.

Among a people so addicted to reading and writing, the manufacture of paper must necessarily be carried on to a considerable extent, and must be much increased by the annual consumption for the sacrifices, which require an immense supply of paper. The paper used for printing books being thin and transparent, is only impressed on one side, and folded, so that every leaf is double, with the edge uncut. Books are not bound, like ours; but every work is divided into a number of separate parts, each neatly stitched into strong paper covers. The parts in this shape are placed all together, loosely, in the outer case; a plan that seems to have been adopted for the purpose of avoiding the inconvenience of holding a thick volume in the hand.

Specimens may be seen in the museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, and many hundreds or thousands are stored in the library of the British Museum. Some five years ago, when large additions were made to this collection, and when the librarians were deliberating where they should find room for them and place them, they were put upon the floor of one of the spacious rooms of the library, and built, or piled up, in the form of a wall or parapet, which the more facetious of the officers of the Museum were accustomed to call the "Great Wall of China."

Books are very cheap, for there is no duty on paper; and the wages of printers, as of all other workmen, are very small. There are a great many booksellers in all the principal towns, but as the only books read in China are those of the native authors, none others are to be met with; and thus printing and bookselling go on year after year, and century after century, without adding to the previous knowledge of the people, or giving them a single new idea.



Printing is still executed, as formerly, by means of wooden blocks, which are prepared thus. The copy is written on very thin paper, and pasted on plain blocks, from which all the blank parts are neatly cut away, and as the letters are left raised on the surface, they are, of course, an exact representation of the manuscript, which must, therefore, be very carefully written. Moveable types are sometimes used, but only for a temporary purpose, as the printing of the Gazette, and the Red Book, the latter of which is altered every three months.

The process of printing in China is very different from that used in England, as the Chinese employ no press; nor would it facilitate their operations, while they continue to print on paper of so delicate a texture that any hard pressure would be likely to break through it. The printer works with two brushes fastened on both ends of a stick, which he holds in his right hand, and having inked the characters with one brush, he lays on his paper, and runs the other over it, which makes the impression; and this is done so quickly that a good workman can take off two thousand copies in a day.

The Chinese do not make good locks, knives, or cutlery of any description; and it has only been of late that they have begun to make clocks and watches, for which the springs and finest part of the works are obtained from England. Another step recently taken towards an improvement in the conveniences of life has been in the manufacture of glass, which had previously been made by melting that which had been broken on its way from Europe: but the Chinese have, for some years, been in the habit of purchasing English flints, and making glass themselves; and although this glass is very inferior to that of Europe, yet the art of making it is gradually improving, and glass mirrors have, in great measure, superseded those of polished metal, which have been in use from very ancient times.

It is almost superfluous to speak of the excellence to which the Chinese have attained in the carving of ivory, since there are few of us who have not had many opportunities of judging for ourselves of the unrivalled beauty of their workmanship in this delicate art; the most perfect specimens of which are, perhaps, exhibited in the models of ships, and the balls contained one within another, to the number sometimes of twenty, or even more. Nothing can afford a greater proof of the patience and perseverance, as well as of the taste, of a Chinese handicraftsman, than one of these elegant baubles, each ball being exquisitely carved, and no two alike in pattern. Each of the balls rolls freely within that which encloses it, and is visible through apertures; so that however many there may be, the beauties of each can be examined, and the number of the whole counted. Much time is spent upon the carving of these toys, for the cleverest artist will employ a whole month in the execution of each separate ball; consequently the labour of two years is not unfrequently bestowed on the production of a single toy, which is formed out of a solid globe of ivory, and has no junction in any part. The outside of this globe is first carved in some very open pattern, and is then carefully cut with a sharp, fine instrument, through the openings, till a complete coating is detached from the solid part inside, as the peel of an orange might be loosened with a scoop from the fruit, without being taken off. One hollow ball is thus formed, with a solid one inside of it. The surface of the inner ball is then carved through the interstices of the outer one, and when finished, is subjected to the same operation as the first; and thus a second hollow ball is produced, still with a solid one of smaller dimensions inside. This process is repeated again and again, the difficulties increasing as the work proceeds, till at length only a small ball, of the size of a marble, is left in the centre, which is also ornamented with figures cut upon it, and then the ingenious but useless bauble is complete. This process is said to be performed under water.

The Chinese display equal skill in carving wood, mother-of-pearl, and tortoiseshell, out of which they form innumerable articles of great beauty, both for ornament and use, the great market for these trifles being Canton, where they are sold in vast quantities to the Europeans and Americans. There are some streets in the suburbs of the city, outside the walls, full of shops for the sale of such commodities; but the shopkeepers dare not sell tea or cotton, the dealings in which have been hitherto entirely restricted to the Hong merchants.

It is remarkable that in a large country where so much trade is carried on, and where every town is full of retail shops, there should be no coinage, as a medium of exchange, more convenient than that of the little copper coins, one thousand of which are only equal to a tael, or Chinese ounce of silver, worth about six shillings and eightpence. These copper pieces, called tchen, have a square hole in the centre, and are issued from the mint threaded on strings, each string containing a thousand, divided by knots into hundreds. Large payments are therefore made in ingots of silver, usually called by the Europeans sycee; and it is part of the business of a banker in China to receive from the government officers all the silver collected in taxes, which they melt, refine, and cast into ingots of a certain weight, each being stamped with the date of the year and the name of the refiner. In making small payments, it is very usual, as in ancient times, to cut off a small piece of silver from a thin sheet of that metal, and weigh it with a fine balance, made expressly for that purpose. There are silver mines in various parts of the country, but more particularly in the province of Yun-nan, which borders on the Burman empire.

Of all the natural productions of China, the tea-plant is decidedly one of the most important, both as an article of foreign commerce and of home consumption.

Tea is grown, more or less, in many parts of the country, but principally in the provinces of Fokien, Keang-nan, Chekeang, and Keang-sy. It is cultivated on the hills, these being sometimes clothed to the very summit with the fragrant shrub, which resembles the myrtle, and bears a white flower, not unlike our hedge-rose. The difference in the quality of the teas depends partly on the district in which they are grown, and partly on the season when they are gathered, as the young leaves of the spring are of much finer flavour than the full-grown leaves of the summer, or the still coarser ones of the autumn.

The tea-growers are generally small proprietors, who, with the help of their families, cultivate their own pieces of land, which are divided from those of their neighbours by a narrow path, or a narrow channel. The farmers, after having gathered their crops, partially dry them in the sun, just sufficiently to prevent their being spoiled, and in that state they are sold to the agents of the Hong merchants, who usually contract with the farmer to take his whole crop at a certain price.

The best account of tea gathering, and of the districts which produce the greatest quantities of tea, has been given very recently by an excellent English botanist and traveller.* In the year 1848 the Court of Directors of the East India Company were anxious to improve the cultivation of tea in our own dominions, on the lower slopes of the Himalaya Mountains. Government plantations existed in those parts, and in one or two districts in the Tenasserim provinces which had been ceded to us in 1826, after our first war with the Burmese. But the tea-plants were not of the best qualities. They had been originally imported from the southern provinces of China, where inferior teas only are grown; and in order to get at the finer varieties, it was essential to explore the northern provinces. It was thought, moreover, that the cultivation of tea did not prosper in India, for want of good manufacturers and proper implements. Although the treaty of peace, which closed our war with the Chinese in 1842, opened several new ports to us, it by no means gave us free access to the north of China or to any part of the interior, and it was believed that no foreigner could safely penetrate into the best tea districts. Mr. Fortune, however, undertook the feat, and performed it to admiration. This gentleman had previously spent three years in the Middle Kingdom, absorbed in botanical pursuits; he could speak the Chinese language, and his previous experience had induced the belief that the Chinese inhabitants of the north, and especially of the interior (living far from the arrogant, insolent rabble of Canton), were a civil, harmless, obliging people. In 1848 Mr. Fortune, unaccompanied by any European, and himself disguised as a native Chinaman, started on his journey. He returned safely to England in September 1851, having forwarded to the Himalaya Mountains 20,000 plants from the best black and green-tea countries of Central China, together with six first-rate native manufacturers, two head-men, and a good supply of Chinese implements from the celebrated "Huychow districts."

---

* "A Journey to the Tea Countries of China, including Sung-lo and the Bohea Hills." By Robert Fortune, Author of "Three Years' Wanderings in China." London, Murray, 1852.

The soil in which Mr. Fortune found some of the finest of his plants was in the Bohea district of Woo-e-Shan. This soil he describes as being moderately rich,—of a reddish colour, and well mixed with *débris* of rocks. It was kept moist by the water constantly oozing from the sides of the rocks, and was well-drained: on the hills in consequence of its height, and on the plains by reason of its slight elevation above the water-courses. In the month of June the temperature at Woo-e-Shan ranged from 85° to 95° Fahr., and in July it rose to 100°, beyond which it rarely rises. In winter the maximum shown by the thermometer was 78°, and the minimum 44°.

Mr. Fortune informs us that black and green tea are both really made from the same variety of plants, the difference in the appearance of these teas (when the *green* teas are not artificially coloured) depending entirely upon manipulation. It should appear that age, as in the mulberry-plant, injures the quality of the produce. In the black-tea districts, as well as in the green, great quantities of young plants are annually raised from seeds. These seeds are gathered in October, and kept mixed up with sand and earth during the winter months. In spring they are sown thickly in a corner of the farm, from which they are afterwards transplanted. When a year old they are about ten inches high, and are ready for transplanting. They are then planted in rows about four feet apart; five or six plants are placed in each hole, and the holes are about four feet from each other in the rows. A plantation of tea, at a distance, looks like a shrubbery of evergreens. The plantations are suffered to grow unmolested for three years, when they are well-established, and produce strong and vigorous shoots.

The tea farms at Woo-e-Shan were small in extent, no single farm producing more than a chop of six hundred chests. A chop is made up as follows :—A tea merchant from one of the larger towns in the interior sends his agents to all the small towns, villages, and temples in the district, to purchase teas from the Buddhist priests, who are large growers, and from small farmers. All the teas so purchased are taken to the merchant's house, where they are mixed together, care being taken to keep the different qualities apart as much as possible. By such a method a chop of six hundred and twenty or six hundred and thirty chests is made, and all the tea of this chop is of the same description.

The process of manufacture is briefly thus :—Leaves from which green tea is to be made, being gathered, are brought from the plantations and spread thinly out on small bamboo trays, in order to get rid of their moisture. In two hours the leaves are dry ; they are then thrown into roasting-pans, and rapidly moved about and shaken up. Affected by the heat, they make a crackling noise, become moist and flaccid, and yield a considerable portion of vapour. In this state they remain five minutes, when they are drawn quickly out and placed upon the rolling-table. Men take their stations at the rolling-table and divide the leaves among them. Each takes as many as he can press with his hands and makes them up in the form of a ball. The ball is rolled upon the table and greatly compressed, to force out the last remaining moisture, and to give the leaves the necessary twist. The leaves are then shaken out upon flat trays, and are carried once more to the roasting-pan, where they are kept in rapid motion by the hands of the workmen. In an hour and a half the leaves are well dried and their colour is fixed. So ends process No. 1.

Process No. 2 consists in winnowing and passing the tea through sieves of various sizes, in order to get rid of impurities and to divide the tea into the well-known kinds of twankay, hyson, hyson skin, young hyson, and gunpowder. During this process the tea is refined, the coarse kinds once, and the finer sorts twice or thrice. Such is the manufacture of the most grateful of our beverages. Black tea undergoes similar treatment, but the method of manipulation, as before indicated, is not the same; the difference, according to Mr. Fortune, being sufficient to account for some of the effects experienced by the European drinker who swallows green tea only. It is believed, however, that a certain colouring-matter (of which a few more words presently), rather than the method of manipulation, injures the green tea which we drink.

The tea being manufactured is secured in the house of the merchant, resident in one of the larger towns, whence it is conveyed to the sea-coast, there to be shipped for "tea-loving England." The merchant engages a number of coolies to carry the chests northward across the Bohea Mountains to Hokow. If the teas are of the common kind, each coolie carries two chests, slung over his shoulders on his favourite bamboo, as milk-pans are carried here. These chests are often much knocked about during the journey over the steep and rugged mountains, and the carrier is allowed to rest them on the ground, which is often wet and dirty. The finest teas must, however, never touch the soil during the whole journey, and they are accordingly carried in single chests across the coolie's shoulder. In six days the coolie reaches Hokow, where the teas are placed in flat-bottomed boats to proceed by water, either to Canton or Shang-hae; the time occupied in the transport from the Bohea country to Canton averaging from six weeks to two months. From Canton to England the voyage is direct and easy.

Now for the colouring matter which has been indicated as a source of mischief. By one of those perverse tastes which obtain among us, our early tea-purchasers betrayed a strong predilection for a certain colour. "Foreigners," said the Chinese, "like to have their tea uniform and pretty;" so they poison the herb to gratify the ridiculous tastes of England and America for *bright green*, just as many of our pickle-makers poison their pickles. They throw in a blue substance, which appears to be salts of copper, and they mix with it a quantity of gypsum. They never think of drinking this tea themselves, but the more gypsum and blue they can communicate to the plant the higher becomes its value in the eyes of their best customers, and the dyeing process accordingly goes on in China to an alarming extent. It is calculated, that in every hundred pounds of coloured green tea consumed in England, more than half-a-pound of colouring blue and gypsum is contained! Really, on account of the agitation of our nerves, and the serious injury done to the coats of our stomachs, a great popular "agitation" ought to be got up on this subject, and strenuous efforts made to correct the monstrous folly of our importers of tea, and put a stop to this almost universal process of slow-poisoning. Exeter Hall might be turned to a worse purpose than a series of meetings, and orations, and resolutions, on the subject. Derangement of the stomach has very immoral and unchristian tendencies.

Mr. Fortune, who visited our own tea-plantations of the Himalaya, sees no reason why India should not produce tea in sufficient abundance to enable the native to purchase it upon his own hills at the rate of fourpence a pound. He describes the climate and soil as being in all respects adapted to the cultivation of the plant. We may therefore entertain the hope that good tea will soon be imported, at a very cheap rate, from our own Indian possessions. For the causes above alluded to, the teas brought from those countries have hitherto been decidedly of an inferior quality.

The consumption of tea, among the Chinese themselves, is truly enormous. They drink it incessantly, not only without injuring their stomachs, but with evident advantage to their bodily health. A true Chinese is never seen to drink cold water, for he thinks it destructive to health and hates it. Tea is his beverage from morning till night. The very essence of the herb is drawn out in pure boiling-hot water, and swallowed without any milk or sugar. They take it, in short, as the Persians, Arabs, and Turks, take their coffee, without the admixture of any other ingredient. If a Chinaman is travelling, he stops at an inn to take his cup; if he pay a visit, he is offered tea as soon as he arrives; and if he receive a visitor, he immediately plies him with a cup of tea and a pipe—just as the Turk produces his tiny cup of coffee and long chibouque. Before dinner he takes a cup of tea to stimulate appetite, and after dinner he invariably takes another cup to promote digestion. With such incessant potations there can be little doubt that he would be a dead man in three months if he betook himself to the use of the coloured, green tea, which we so rashly consume.

Tea-drinking prevails, to an almost equal extent, in regions far beyond the Great Wall. Honest John Bell of Antermony found it universal throughout the wilds and steppes of Tartary. Wherever the gentlemen of his Russian embassy stopped in those regions, scalding-hot tea was served up to them. But the Tartars had the disagreeable custom of frequently mixing solvent mutton-fat in their tea-cups. It has often been said, that Asia may be divided into "Tea-drinking Asia" and "Coffee-drinking Asia." Where the use of tea ceases that of coffee begins, and is quite as frequently in requisition.

Chinese Method of making Tea.—The Chinese do not prepare tea for drinking as we do. With them the tea is almost always put into the tea-cup dry, and the boiling water poured upon it. We have mentioned their violent prejudice against milk, but although they have no prejudice against sugar, they do not use it with their tea. Sir John F. Davis has described how the beverage is drunk in the fashionable society of the Celestial Empire. "Soon after being seated, the attendants invariably enter with porcelain cups, furnished with covers, in each of which, on removing the little saucer by which it is surmounted, appears a small quantity of fine tea-leaves, on which boiling water has been poured; and thus it is that they drink the infusion, without the addition of either sugar or milk. The delicate aroma of fine tea is, no doubt, more clearly distinguished in this mode of taking it, and a little habit leads many Europeans in China to relish the custom. Though the infusion is generally made in the cup, they occasionally use teapots, of antique and tasteful shapes, which are not unfrequently made of tutenague externally, covering earthenware on the inside. At visits a circular japanned tray is frequently brought in, having numerous compartments radiating from the centre, in which are a variety of sweetmeats, or dried fruits. These are taken up with a small two-pronged fork of silver."*

Mr. Fortune adds to this information: "Let me confer a boon upon my countrywomen, who never look so charming as at the breakfast-table, by a quotation or two from a Chinese author's advice, to a nation of tea-drinkers, how best to make tea. 'Whenever the tea is to be infused for use,' says Tüng-po,

---

* "The Chinese."

'take water from a running stream, and boil it over a lively fire. It is an old custom to use running water, boiled over a lively fire: that from springs in the hills is said to be the best, and river water the next, while well water is the worst.'

"'When making an infusion do not boil the water too hastily, as first it begins to sparkle like crabs' eyes, then somewhat like fishes' eyes, and lastly it boils up like pearls innumerable, springing and waving about. This is the way to boil the water.'

"The same author gives the names of six different kinds of tea, all of which are in high repute. As their names are rather flowery, I quote them for the reader's amusement. They are these: the 'first spring tea,' the 'white dew,' the 'coral dew,' the 'dewy shoots,' the 'money shoots,' and the 'rivulet garden tea.'

"'Tea,' says he, 'is of a cooling nature, and, if drunk too freely, will produce exhaustion and lassitude; country people before drinking it add ginger and salt, to counteract this cooling property. It is an exceedingly useful plant; cultivate it, and the benefit will be widely spread; drink it, and the animal spirits will be lively and clear. The chief rulers, dukes, and nobility esteem it; the lower people, the poor and beggarly, will not be destitute of it.' Another author upon tea says, that 'drinking it tends to clear away all impurities, drives off drowsiness, removes or prevents headache, and it is universally in high esteem.'"

The annual export of tea from Canton is computed at about fifty-four millions of pounds, of which considerably more than half is brought to England; and when we consider that, in addition to this immense quantity sent abroad, it is the universal beverage of three hundred millions of people at home, we may readily imagine what a vast number of Chinese must be employed in the culture and preparation of this valuable shrub.

Sugar is cultivated in some of the interior provinces, where sugar-candy is made in such large quantities as to form an article of export.

There are many curious trees in China that are unknown in Europe, among which are those that produce camphor, tallow, and wax. The camphor-tree grows to a great height, and is one of the most useful timber trees in the empire, as it does not split, and is never destroyed by insects. It is chiefly used for chests and household furniture, and sometimes in boat-building. The luxuriant foliage of this fine tree is of the brightest green, and from the fresh-gathered branches is obtained the resinous gum which we call camphor, and with which the wood is highly scented.

The tallow-tree has some resemblance to the aspen and birch, the branches being long and flexible, and the leaves of a very dark green, which, in autumn, turn red, with a purple tint. The fruit, or rather seed, is contained in brown pods, that grow in bunches at the extremity of each bough, and on opening disclose three small white berries, which hang very prettily by their slender strings when the husk has completely fallen off. These have each a small nut in the middle, but the white coating is the tallow, of which candles are made; and thus the Chinese, who, from local circumstances, kill but few animals as compared with the number killed in England, are furnished with a vegetable substance, which supplies the deficiency of the material used here for the manufacture of candles. The tallow-tree abounds in the island of Chusan, where the manufacture of candles is extensively carried on; and, in fact, this is a very important branch of Chinese industry, as it is not only for domestic purposes that lights are required, but all the temples have to be supplied with those great candles that are set up at the festivals before the images.

The bamboo, and many of the purposes to which it is applied, have already been noticed. There are many varieties of this valuable production of the East, some kinds being much larger and stronger than others, and differing also in colour. In the construction of temporary buildings it is far more useful than timber, on account of its lightness; and from it are made excellent water-pipes, the cabins of the sampans, or family boats, ropes, &c., whilst it enters largely into the manufacture of paper. Its young shoots are a very delicate vegetable for the table, not unlike asparagus; and among the innumerable minor purposes to which it is applied, we may mention its employment at Canton in the manufacture of hats, which are made and sold to foreigners in that city. The making of these hats is a specimen of the ingenuity of the Chinese, who are very clever in imitating anything they see; and will produce the counterpart of an European hat with the most minute exactness. The body of the hat is made of a composition formed of the inner part of the bamboo, beaten into a pulp, and mixed with glue. It is spread on a block of the proper shape, and, when dried, is covered and lined in the same manner as gentlemen's silk hats in this country.

There is another small species of bamboo that grows in the marshes, seldom measuring more than two inches in diameter, the pith of which is the material commonly called rice paper. The pith is used in its natural state, being only pared in thin slices and rolled out into flat sheets, as we receive it in this country. The Chinese, who make some use of everything that falls in their way (however vile or filthy it may be), may really be said to make almost everything out of bamboo. We have already mentioned a few of the articles of furniture, shipping, &c., to which this gigantic cane is applied, but to name them all would fill pages.

The defects of the Chinese as sculptors and painters are sufficiently known, from specimens of their works which abound in Europe. Their painters have no notion of perspective, and very little idea of chiaro-scuro, or light and shade. They can copy minutely any picture that is put before them, but if there be any crack, spot, or blemish of any kind on the surface of the picture, they will be sure to introduce it in their copy.

They paint flowers, birds, and butterflies, very beautifully on this paper, of which they also make artificial flowers in large quantities, a trade that has long flourished in Nanking, the reeds being found in great abundance in the neighbourhood of that city.

They are deficient in certain points of taste; they regard a shadow in a picture as a defect, and brilliancy of colours as the chief beauty; therefore they succeed admirably in ornamental designs, but fail in landscape or portrait painting, not from want of ability, but from want of that knowledge which is only to be obtained by the instructions of those whose tastes have been better directed. The Chinese style of architecture, though frequently elegant, is deficient in grandeur and solidity. There are scarcely any magnificent stone edifices, except some of the bridges. The palaces consist of a numerous collection of fantastic buildings, highly ornamented, but, to our taste, without regularity; and many of the temples, although spread over a vast extent of ground, have no pretension to be called fine structures. The roofs are usually supported by columns or walls of wood, which has always been the chief material used in building; and hence we never hear of the ruins of ancient castles or other buildings of antiquity, which, in many parts of the world, particularly in India and Europe, remain to show what splendid edifices were erected in bygone ages. The Great Wall is certainly a wonderful monument of ancient times; but it is almost the only one that we read of in China, except a famous temple or tower, partly in ruins, which stands on an eminence in the neighbourhood of Hang-chow-foo. It is called the "Tower of the Thundering Winds," and is supposed to have been built about 2500 years ago.

TAOU-KWANG.

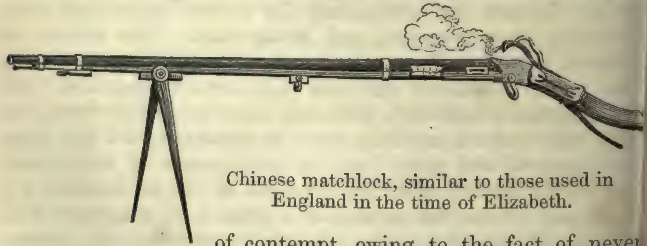
The late Emperor of China, Taou-kwang, whose name signifies "the Glory of Reason," ascended the throne in the year 1820; and if he possessed not the wisdom and talents of his grandfather, Kien-long, he endeavoured to maintain the dignity of his exalted station, and was consequently more respected than his predecessor, the weak-minded and vicious Kea-king.

The distant Tartar tribes have always been found very troublesome dependants, and no sooner was Taou-kwang seated on the throne, than a serious insurrection broke out in the western tracts, which had been annexed to the empire by Kien-long. Cashgar was one of the chief scenes of the revolt, which, after a struggle of several years, was at length suppressed by the Mantchu imperial troops, who are said to have been guilty of dreadful barbarity towards the insurgents.

Peace was scarcely restored in the West, when the internal repose of the country was disturbed by another rebellion of the mountaineers, known by the name of Meaoutse. The cause of this fresh outbreak does not appear to be known, but they poured down in great numbers from their native hills, under the command of a chieftain who assumed the title of Wong, or King, and not only displayed the imperial ensign of the Golden Dragon, but wore a yellow robe, which is a direct assumption of the imperial dignity. All the mountain tribes, each governed by a separate chief, enlisted under the banner of this daring leader, and descended to the plains, where they defeated the imperial troops, and possessed themselves of four towns, from which they expelled the soldiers and mandarins, but did not injure the rest of the inhabitants, declaring by a public proclamation that they were not the enemies of the people, but of the government. By the spring of 1832 they had established themselves in the country to the north-west of Canton, holding a number of walled cities, and treating the industrious portion of the inhabitants with great kindness. At this time it was rather more than suspected that a good many members of the "Triad Society," whose object is the emancipation of the Chinese and the overthrow of the Tartars, had got among the mountaineers, and were directing their measures and movements. The viceroy of Canton, Governor Le, received orders from Peking to put an end to the rebellion; and with that view he assembled what he supposed would be a sufficient force to defeat them, but they were more formidable than he expected, and his army was repulsed with great loss: in consequence of which misfortune he was degraded and deprived of his government, for the spirit of the law is, that if a general is commanded to conquer he ought to obey. Another mandarin, the viceroy of Honan, met with better success, and having retaken one of the towns occupied by the mountain bands, was rewarded with a peacock's feather, which is the highest badge of military distinction known among the Tartars. Still the rebellion was not terminated, and the Meaoutse held out with determined obstinacy for nearly six years, when, in 1838, two imperial commissioners were sent from Peking to treat with them upon amicable terms, and (by what means is not exactly known, although it is suspected large presents were not spared) induced them to return quietly to their homes. It was then publicly announced that the rebels had been obliged to make the most humble submissions: but as they are as independent now as they were before, it is quite evident they were rather appeased than subdued; and if they really were bribed to withdraw, will most probably, ere long, repeat the same profitable experiment.

In 1832 there was also a tremendous insurrection in the island of Formosa. Nearly every soldier and mandarin on the island suffered death at the hands of the people, who vowed that they could no longer bear their oppressive government. A great Tartar general was sent from Peking, but instead of fighting he negotiated, and a temporary tranquillity was purchased in Formosa with government gold and silver and a distribution of satin dresses.

Scarcely had the mountain tribes (in 1838) retired once more in peace to their native wilds, than a war broke out of a totally different nature from any that had yet disturbed the Celestial Empire. Hitherto, the people of China had only been called upon to contend with barbarous nations, whose mode of warfare was familiar to them; and, moreover, they had been accustomed to look upon the English with a degree



Chinese matchlock, similar to those used in England in the time of Elizabeth.

of contempt, owing to the fact of never having known them in any other character than that of traders. Unconscious of their own inferiority in knowledge of the art of war, or of the improvement in weapons, and wholly ignorant of the great advantages which discipline always gives over numbers, they treated our countrymen as foes rather to be despised than dreaded; and entered, without apprehension, into a contest, the result of which has certainly been to them most unexpected. To the emperor especially, who, far from the scene of action, and if we may judge from his edicts, fully impressed with the belief that England was some petty state, depending for subsistence on its trade with the Chinese empire, the manner in which the war terminated must indeed have been a cause of astonishment; but some are of opinion that the imperial ruler of China, and many of his satellites, know more of the real state of Great Britain than they think proper, for political reasons, to acknowledge.

The commercial intercourse between England and China had been through the East India Company; and so it continued till the year 1833, when the term of their last charter expired, and all British subjects were equally at liberty to send out ships to China, for tea and other produce of that country, which till then had never been brought by any vessels but those belonging to the privileged Company. It was foreseen by those who had made many voyages to the country, and were well acquainted with the Chinese, that our intercourse with them would no longer go on even so smoothly as it had hitherto done, and that infinitely less regard would be shown for an indefinite number of private adventurers than had been entertained for a great united Company, endowed with the real sovereignty of all India. Under the Company's monopoly we had carried on an extensive trade in opium, but this had been conducted with caution and moderation. The consumption of the narcotic had become enormous. Sir J. F. Davis says,—"The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for opium, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connexion with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first. The contraband trade (for opium has always been prohibited, as hurtful to the health and morals of the people) was originally at Macao; but we have seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium is kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place. From the following statement it will be seen, that while the quantity imported into China had increased more than five-fold, the average price had fallen to about one-half:—

Year.	Chests.		Dollars.	Total dollars.
1821	4,628	average price	1325	6,132,100
1825	9,621	„	723	6,955,983
1830	18,760	„	587	11,012,120
1832	23,670	„	648	15,338,160

This had the effect of drawing the serious attention of the Peking government to the growing evil, and it seems certain that the aggregate value of the importation, which was, in 1832, of the enormous amount of between three and four millions sterling, now began somewhat to decline. Terrible laws and decrees were fulminated by the imperial court against all smokers, venders, or purchasers of opium. They were to be beaten with a hundred strokes of the bamboo, to stand in the pillory, and to receive other punishments. But the very persons charged with the execution of these laws were themselves the most habitual and inveterate infringers of them, and nearly every man on the sea-coast was a smuggler of opium. An imperial state paper says,—"It seems that opium is almost entirely imported from abroad: worthless subordinates *in offices*, and nefarious traders, first introduced the abuse; young persons of family, wealthy citizens, and merchants adopted the custom, until at last it reached the common people. I have learnt on inquiry, from scholars and official persons, that opium-smokers exist in all the provinces, *but the larger proportion of these are to be found in the government offices;* and that it would be a fallacy to suppose that there are not smokers among all ranks of civil and military officers, below the station of provincial governors and their deputies. The magistrates of districts issue proclamations, interdicting the clandestine sale of opium, at the same time that their kindred, and clerks, and servants smoke it as before. Then the nefarious traders make a pretext of the interdict for raising the price. The *police*, influenced by the people in the public offices, become the secret purchasers of opium, instead of labouring for its suppression; and thus all interdicts and regulations become vain."

The denunciation might have been made far more general. The highest mandarin or prince of the blood smoked his opium pipe, and so did the poorest peasant, when he could get it; at Canton and all the frequented seaport towns there were public houses exclusively devoted to opium-smoking; at Peking, in the very palace, the ladies of the imperial harem and their emasculated attendants smoked opium, and would not be without it; and, if the emperor himself had wholly foregone the practice (which is problematical), he had notoriously been an opium-smoker. Before his time severe edicts had been issued against the use of the drug, but they had all failed, and for the same obvious reasons, which were quite sure to render nugatory the present laws and regulations. Even in the year 1833 opium formed about *one-half* of the total value of British imports at Canton and Lintin, and the amount of the opium imported by us was greater than that of the tea exported by the Chinese.

Imports in 1833.	Dollars.	*Exports in* 1833.	Dollars.
Opium	11,618,167	Tea	9,133,749
Other imports . .	11,858,077	Other exports . .	11,309,521
	23,476,244		20,443,270

In the spring of 1834, when the free-trading ships under our flag began to arrive and take in cargoes of tea at Canton, there was a visible increase in the sale of opium. That drug was also supplied,—as it long had been,—by the ships of other nations, and more especially by those of the United States of America, which certainly would have monopolised the whole opium trade of China if we had been able and willing to give it up.

The long series of quarrels which led to our war with the Celestials did not, however, spring from opium boxes. We had many grievances and oppressions, in the way of fair trade, to complain of before the issuing of the new regulations, and our men-of-war and Company's ships had more than once found it necessary to check the arrogance of the Chinese government by bombarding their forts. In July, 1834, Lord Napier, as chief-superintendent of British commerce in China, and J. F. Davis, Esq. (now Sir John Francis), and Sir G. B. Robinson, as second and third superintendents, arrived at Canton, their appointments having been made by the then existing British government, and their instructions principally drawn up by Viscount Palmerston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who appears to have entertained very incorrect notions as to the facility of extending our trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions, and as to the respect which would be paid to agents of our imperial government. One of the first things which Lord Napier discovered was, that he was not treated with a tithe of the respect which the authorities had been accustomed to pay to the old, long-residing, experienced agents, formerly named and appointed by the East India Company. When he and his two subordinates arrived at Canton, the tide-waiters officially reported that "three foreign devils" had landed without leave. The governor of Canton, in a very solemn edict, declared that this was a great infringement of the established laws, and that the "barbarian eye" (Lord Napier) ought to have remained for orders at Macao. His lordship addressed a letter to the governor, notifying his high governmental appointment as superintendent, and requesting an interview. Because this letter was not superscribed as a humble petition, it was scornfully rejected. Entreaties were made on the part of Lord Napier, which ought to have been spared. Not one of the Chinese authorities would so much as touch the letter. About three weeks after this (in August 1834), an edict was issued commanding his lordship to return to Macao, and threatening to stop the trade,—an alternative to which the Chinese in their disputes usually resorted. As Lord Napier would not move, our trade was stopped on the 2d of September, and all intercourse with British subjects prohibited. A guard of Chinese troops was also placed close to our factory, and our three superintendents were abused and menaced. Lord Napier immediately called up two British frigates to protect the shipping and persons of British subjects. These vessels, the "Andromache" and "Imogene," were fired upon by the Chinese in their passage through the Bogue; but they soon silenced those batteries, got near to Canton, and landed some sailors and marines at the factory. Hereupon the Chinese, with their inherent timidity, left off boasting and threatening, and made overtures for an accommodation. At this point Lord Napier, affected by a sultry climate to which he was not accustomed, and by the delays and vexations to which he had been exposed, fell very ill. On the 19th of September it was agreed that our two frigates should be sent away, that his lordship should return to Macao, and that the trade should be re-opened. On the 21st the frigates were ordered to leave the river, and his lordship left Canton for Macao, in a native passage-boat provided by the Chinese authorities,—the last an arrangement which never ought to have been submitted to. The Chinese regarded his lordship as a prisoner, and by studied delays they detained him five days on a journey of less than a hundred miles. The sufferings and annoyances he experienced on his passage down were too much for his debilitated frame, and he died at Macao a fortnight after his arrival there, and just three months since his landing in China. He was buried, with the honours due to his rank, in the Protestant burying-ground, from which his remains were afterwards disinterred to be conveyed to England. The emperor had degraded and suspended a host of mandarins, because they had not prevented the coming up of our frigates; but now, upon receiving a memorial affirming that the "barbarian eye" (Lord N.) had been driven out, and our two ships of war "dragged over the shallows and expelled," he revoked his edicts, and restored most of these mandarins. The governor of Macao, to make a show of doing something energetic, put ten of his civil and military officers to torture, "to ascertain if they had been guilty of illicit connexion with foreigners." He also sent the police to arrest some natives connected with a printing establishment, which had printed some papers for Lord Napier. His myrmidons seized several workmen who were in the employment of Protestant missionaries, and engaged in printing religious tracts, and having severely bambooed them, dragged them to a filthy prison.

Lord Napier was succeeded by Mr. J. F. Davis, who had Captain Eliot for secretary. About a month after this (in November 1834), an imperial mandate utterly forbade all traffic in opium. Shortly after this, part of the crew of the English ship "Argyle," which had anchored on the coast of China in consequence of sea damage, were seized by the local authorities, and kept as prisoners; and when Captain Eliot, now third superintendent, went up to Canton to demand their restoration, he was grossly assaulted by the authorities there, and forcibly sent back. In a few days, however, our sailors were restored. The years 1836-37-38-39 were almost filled up with disputes and quarrels, with many of which opium had nothing to do. A recent American writer, from whom we have more than once quoted, says frankly,—"There were many grievances, and all of us had just grounds of complaint. The Chinese were exacting, jealous, and capricious to the last degree; their policy was becoming more and more narrow; each year they were drawing a cord around the neck of the foreigner that threatened to strangle him altogether. They were, no doubt, anxious to go back to old days, to do without foreign trade, and to shut tight the front door of their country. Had they succeeded in their designs, I do not believe that at this day there would be an European in China, excepting, perhaps, a few beggarly Portuguese at Macao."*

In April, 1837, when trade was again in abeyance, the governor of Canton, through the Hong merchants, told Captain Eliot that he must not puff himself up with the idea that any peace and good-will could exist between the great emperor and the petty English nation. At this moment Captain Eliot was doing all that he could to prevent the arrival of opium ships in the river. The smugglers in the drug were driven farther to the east, to the coast of Fokien, where twenty sail were engaged in it, and where the article was eagerly bought up and consumed by all classes of people, in spite of the imperial edicts. Some collisions, however, took place with the newly-appointed authorities, and blood was shed on both sides. It has been confidently asserted, that wherever any opium was captured by the Chinese, it was not destroyed, but sold by the captors, and that the very few soldiers who showed any courage in these conflicts were drunk with opium.

Some more British subjects, including men who were not engaged in running opium, were kidnapped on the coast, and treated with execrable cruelty; a boat belonging to one of our men-of-war was fired upon; a trading-boat was overpowered and all her crew,—Lascars, or Indians in our service,—were butchered; an attempt was made to execute an opium-smuggler in front of the foreign factories; and, as the European inhabitants resisted, a fearful riot ensued, in which, but for their arrant cowardice, the Chinese would have destroyed all within the factories.

---

* Osmond Tiffany, jun., the "Canton Chinese, &c."

The factories belonging to the merchants of Europe and America occupy a small space along the banks of the river, outside the walls of the city, and are built on piles, as their situation renders them liable to inundation. They are railed in, and have a space allotted for garden ground, with a promenade, called the Respondentia walk, which was all that the law allowed to foreigners in the vast empire of China, until the late concessions. The factories are British, Dutch, American, French, Austrian, Danish, and Swedish, each consisting of several brick or stone edifices, built along the side of an open space of inconsiderable dimensions. Three streets in the suburbs, leading from these factories, contain the shops where foreigners purchase all they require for their own use, for they are rarely allowed to enter the town, even for the purpose of buying goods.

In January, 1839, the government sent the police to search the native houses of Canton, and seize opium wherever found. This led to a curious scene, highly characteristic of China and its officials: the people would not allow the search to begin until they had first searched the policemen, who were generally known as the greatest opium-smokers in the city! A few days after this the Canton authorities caused a native opium-smuggler (or a man accused of that calling) to be executed in front of the factories; whereupon *all* the foreign flags were immediately struck. The governor took no notice of a remonstrance addressed to him by Captain Eliot.

A week after these occurrences, the celebrated Commissioner Lin (whose name will long be remembered in Europe), arrived from Court, vested with the most absolute powers that were ever delegated by the emperor. Lin, who had strongly recommended a war with the English, was fierce, unscrupulous, and fanatical; or, as he has been called, "thoroughly an orthodox Chinaman."

When Commissioner Lin arrived at Canton, it happened that there were several British ships in the river, having not less than twenty thousand chests of opium on board. These he demanded should be given up, without delay, to be destroyed.

The governor, finding that his orders were not complied with, issued a command that all native servants should leave the factories; which was instantly obeyed, simply because the poor fellows did not dare to act in a manner contrary to the decree of the ruling power. The factories were then surrounded by a body of Chinese and Tartar troops, who guarded the merchants as prisoners. In the meantime, Lin published several manifestoes, addressed to the English, in the admonitory style used by the rulers of China towards their own people; thus proving how little he was acquainted with the English character and resources. In fact, the Chinese have always considered that, in permitting the "outer barbarians," as they term all who dwell beyond the limits of the Central Empire, to trade to their shores, they are conferring on them inestimable benefits, for which they receive no adequate advantage in return.

Finding, however, that this exhortation failed to produce the desired effect, the governor continued the blockade of the factories, and even threatened to put the occupants to death; on which the British superintendent, Captain Eliot, deemed it advisable to agree to the surrender of the opium, in order to secure the safety of his countrymen. Several weeks were occupied in the landing of the forfeited drug, during which the merchants were still detained in the factories; but as soon as it was ascertained that all the chests had been brought on shore, the troops were withdrawn, and the captives left at liberty to depart.

In the meantime, the Commissioner had sent to Peking for instructions how to dispose of the property he had seized, and received the following order, in the name of the emperor:—"Lin and his colleagues are to assemble the civil and military officers, and destroy the opium before their eyes; thus manifesting to the natives dwelling on the sea-coast, and the foreigners of the outside nations, an awful warning. Respect this. Obey respectfully." In obedience to this command, on the 3d of June, 1839, the High Commissioner, accompanied by all the officers, proceeded to Chunhow, near the Bocca Tigris, or mouth of the river, where large trenches had been dug, into which the opium was thrown, with a quantity of quick-lime, salt, and water, so that it was quickly decomposed, and the mixture ran into the sea.

The operations for destroying the drug continued about twenty days, and were witnessed on the 16th by several English merchants, who had an interview with Commissioner Lin. The market value of the property, at the time, was about twelve millions of Spanish dollars. But there are many who affirm that it was not *all* destroyed,—that a very large portion of the substance thrown into the pits was sham opium,—and that out of the enormous number of mandarins, sub-mandarins, policemen, and other government officials who had had the overhauling of this grand prize, not a few profited largely by subtracting the best opium. An immediate and a very great impulse was given by this affair to the smuggling trade on the eastern coast; and in many places the natives entered into organised leagues and combinations, which the government was afraid to face.

The Bocca Tigris.

Some days before this transaction, the British merchants had retired to Macao, where most of their families were residing. This settlement still belongs to the Portuguese, who have their own government, and the privilege of trying any offender by their own laws, even though he be a Chinese. They have forts garrisoned by about four hundred men, some fine churches, a monastery, and a convent for nuns, who are occasionally seen walking in the town. The Portuguese employ a great many black slaves, as servants; but all the mechanics and workmen of every description, as well as the shopkeepers, are Chinese. The houses are built in the European style, the handsomest of them being chiefly let to English families.

Soon after the British merchants had removed from Canton to Macao, it happened that some English, American, and Chinese sailors quarrelled in the street, when one of the latter was accidentally killed by a random blow. The laws of China make no distinction between murder and homicide; therefore, when the governor of Canton was informed of this unfortunate circumstance, he demanded that the culprits should be given up to justice; but as the English are not amenable to Chinese law, they, of course, refused to comply.* The governor, therefore, gave orders that provisions should no longer be supplied to the English at Macao, on which Captain Eliot removed the whole fleet to Hong-kong, a rocky island about thirty-five miles to the east of that settlement, inhabited, at that time, chiefly by fishermen, but which has now become an English settlement, with a good town, built by its new occupiers. In the mean time, the British superintendent had written to Lord Auckland, the Governor-general of India, requesting that he would send, without delay, as many vessels and men as could be spared from the Indian station, to assist in protecting the lives and property of her majesty's subjects in China; and thus, towards the close of 1839, the clouds of war were gathering rapidly over the Celestial Empire.

The High Commissioner Lin no sooner became aware that the British fleet had removed to Hong-kong, than he issued a decree that all trade between the English and the Chinese should be suspended, until the former had given the bond he had at first required of them, signed with the names of all the owners of vessels engaged in the opium trade, as well as that of the superintendent, whom he termed the "barbarian eye;" meaning the chief, or inspector of the foreigners. For a time, therefore, the trade was suspended, and the English ships remained in Hong-kong harbour, while the Chinese fleet was preparing to make an attack on them.

Hong-kong is one of a group of small rocky islands, which are so numerous round the coast of China, that one of the titles given the emperor is "Lord of ten thousand isles."

---

* A very short time after, the English and American seamen were tried by their own laws at Hong-kong. They were acquitted of the murder; but five of them were found guilty of riot, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, with hard labour.

The inhabitants were mostly poor fishermen, living on the sea-shore, in wooden sheds, and some in huts of a peculiar character, made of old junks and worn-out boats.

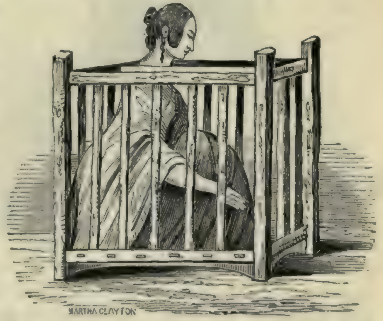
Hong-kong is not more than eight miles in length and five in breadth, exhibiting to the eye, on the first approach, a mass of steep rugged rocks; among which, however, are found a few fertile spots, where rice is cultivated; and the inhabitants enjoy the luxury of plenty of good water, which in many other Chinese islands is very scarce. The little town of Chuck-chuen, situated in the most picturesque part of the island, is an assemblage of white houses with blue-tiled roofs, and, when the English first arrived there, was the residence of the mandarin governor of the island, and his subordinate officers. Hong-kong abounds in granite, which many of the inhabitants are employed in hewing for exportation.

Commissioner Lin was now thundering proclamations, and calling upon every true Chinese to arm, march, and exterminate the "red-bristled barbarians." In his fury he seized and burned a weak Spanish vessel, which he took to be English, and which was represented in his despatches as a formidable ship of war. This happened on the 12th of September (1839), when the English had consented, for the present, not to blockade the Canton river. Growing still bolder, Lin despatched Admiral Kwan to attack two British frigates, the "Volage" and the "Hyacinth." On the 3d of November, Kwan went through the Bocca Tigris or Bogue passage, and with twenty-nine war-junks gave battle. He had reason to remember the day, for, with infinite ease, our two frigates beat him off with great loss, — one of his junks was blown up, three were sunk, and the rest shattered and scattered. This defeat was a serious blow to the authorities at Canton, who had placed great dependence on the admiral; nor did they dare to send a true account of the affair to the emperor, who was for a time deceived into a belief that the Chinese had been victorious, and under this impression bestowed a high Tartar title on Admiral Kwan. He was afterwards made aware of the truth; but as Kwan was a valuable officer, he was unwilling to dismiss him, and therefore affected not to believe the second version of the story.

In February, 1840, there was a public mourning in China, on account of the death of the empress, which was observed for one hundred days by all the government officers, who were ordered to take the balls from their caps, and not to shave for that space of time; but all public business proceeded as usual.

In the mean time edicts were published almost daily, threatening to exterminate the English if they continued to act in defiance of the imperial commands. Lin (who, on the 6th of February, had been appointed governor-general or viceroy of the provinces of Kwang-Tung and Kwang-Si) and his coadjutors were exerting themselves to strengthen the fleet, by building a number of gun-boats of larger size, and superior in construction to the generality of the war-junks, which were scarcely different from the trading-vessels. Nothing of much importance occurred till the month of June, when an armament arrived from India, under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer, which joined the British ships already assembled. The apprehension excited by this reinforcement occasioned a bold attempt on the part of the Chinese to destroy the whole fleet, by sending fire-ships into the midst of it; but most of them exploded before they came near enough to do any mischief, and others did not even ignite ; so that the experiment proved a total failure. This was a great disappointment to the chief mandarins, who had been so confident of success that a proclamation had been issued, warning all foreigners who were not Englishmen to avoid anchoring their vessels near the British fleet, lest they should be involved in the general destruction.

The scheme of the fire-ships having failed, high rewards were offered to those who should either kill or capture any of the English, or take one of their ships. The rewards were to be proportioned to the ranks of the captives, and it was owing to this cause that many of our countrymen were kidnapped by the Chinese of the lower orders, who were constantly on the watch for any soldier or sailor who might chance to have strayed away from his companions. In this treacherous manner many were made prisoners and carried to Ningpo, where they were confined for some months, until released in consequence of a treaty between Captain Eliot and Keshen, the high commissioner who succeeded Lin. The persons most active in the service above-mentioned were chiefly fishermen and sailors of the very lowest class ; who conveyed their unfortunate captives, some of them British officers, and one a female, to their destination in bamboo cages, or pens, of very confined dimensions ; leaving them from time to time thus imprisoned, for hours, in the court-yards of the temples, to satisfy the curiosity of the multitude, who came to gaze upon the novel spectacle.



Some of the mandarins hit upon a device which they, no doubt, thought very clever and telling. The poor female was to be dressed up in rich clothes, and represented as a sister of the queen of the red-bristled barbarians (our gracious sovereign lady Queen Victoria). But it appears that this plan was given up, as too bold.

Lin and the war party now vaunted the valour of their troops.

The Chinese army is composed of the native troops and the Tartar legions, the latter amounting to about 80,000 men, ranged under eight banners, and always at the disposal of the government. Their colours are yellow, white, red, and blue, which, variously bordered, form eight different standards. The Tartar soldiers are more effective than the Chinese, as they are warlike by nature, trained to arms, and regularly organised; whereas the Chinese merely constitute a militia, as they dwell at their own homes, clothe and arm themselves according to their own fancy, and are very seldom required for actual service. Their chief duty, as military men, is to act as police in the cities; and in case of any local disturbances or rebellions of the mountaineers, they are obliged to take the field: but, in general, they spend the greater part of the year with their families, engaged in cultivating the land; and as they receive pay from the government, every countryman is desirous of being enrolled as a soldier, for the sake of increasing his means of subsistence.

Five thousand volunteer troops were thus enlisted at Canton, about the time that Chusan was taken by the English, the Hong merchants having been commanded by the viceroy, Lin, to raise that number of recruits; which there was no difficulty in doing, for the stoppage of trade had thrown out of employment so many of those men whose business it was to carry loads of merchandise, that as soon as the order was known they repaired, in large bodies, to the place appointed, where 5000 of them were selected and registered.

Sir John F. Davis, and all those best acquainted with the country, were of opinion that Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer committed a mistake in not bombarding and knocking to pieces the famed Bogue forts, before undertaking any other enterprise. Such a blow would have thrown all Canton into consternation, have carried terror to the court of Peking, and, in all probability, have brought on an accommodation at a smaller expense of blood than was afterwards incurred by the Chinese. Those batteries are by far the strongest defences that exist in the empire, and, in fact, the only things of the kind that deserve the name; their total destruction by our armament would certainly have been the best primary blow that could be given. But instead of striking it, Sir Gordon Bremer established the blockade of the Canton river, and carried the British fleet northward, on the east coast of China. Lin forthwith reported to his government that, though English ships of war had lately appeared near the mouth of the Canton river, they had not dared to attack the imperial forces and fortresses.

Her majesty's ship "Blonde" visited Amoy, when attempts were made to open a communication with some of the provincial mandarins. The Chinese on shore fired upon our boat and flag of truce, and very nearly killed our excellent interpreter, Mr. Thom. The "Blonde" then knocked their contemptible battery about their ears, and killed about a dozen of them who had not run away in time. Another attempt to open communications was made at Ningpo. The country people were quite willing to receive our officers in a friendly manner, and to supply our ships, but they stood in awe of an armed force, which had been brought down from other districts under certain great mandarins, who would receive neither letters nor verbal messages. To bring them to reason, the only thing necessary would have been to land one or two hundred sailors or marines; but our officers, or those who directed their movements, committed many errors, and certainly acted as if they believed that time was of no value, and national expenditure of no consequence — that the best wars were not the *shortest* but the *longest*. By this time we had in the seas of China fifteen men-of-war, four war-steamers, and 4000 land troops.

The first conquest made by the English was that of Chusan, which was taken on the 5th of July, 1840. Chusan, where there was formerly a British factory, is a fine island, about fifty miles in circumference, containing a dense population, and situated near the eastern coast of China, not very far from Nanking. It is very mountainous, but between the hills are wide valleys, where rice is abundantly cultivated, and watered by the numerous streams that flow from the heights. Some of the hills are covered with tea plantations, others with sweet potatoes; and those that are not susceptible of cultivation, with tallow and cyprus trees; while in the plains are cultivated the finest fruits, cotton, tobacco, rhubarb, the sugar-cane, and vegetables of all kinds for the table.

Before the Tartar conquest, the rearing of silk-worms was very general in Chusan; but the Tartars cut down all the mulberry-trees in the island, and exterminated the inhabitants, who were among the defenders of the Ming family; since which time silk has ceased to be one of the products of Chusan.

Cotton is extensively grown and manufactured by the people for their own use, so that in every cottage the women are employed in carding, spinning, and weaving the produce of their own fields. The tallow-tree is abundant. Tinghae, the capital of Chusan, is a large city, standing in a plain, not far from the sea. Its high blue walls are fortified by twenty-two square towers, besides a wide moat, which runs nearly all round the town; but these defences were of little use without artillery and soldiers, with which Tinghae was but ill-supplied: so that the English took possession of it without any difficulty, and almost without opposition. On their first landing, indeed, the Chinese fired upon them from the town, and also from a high hill, where a body of troops had been stationed; but these were speedily dislodged by the invaders, who had encamped upon the height which they called the Joss-house hill, from its being the site of a magnificent temple. The mandarins in the capital, on seeing this strong position occupied by the enemy, determined to abandon the city, which they had no means of defending with any chance of success; and in the course of the night they evacuated it, followed by all the soldiers and the greater part of the inhabitants, who carried away with them such property as could be conveniently removed; so that when the English entered the town, the next day, they found it nearly deserted.

The streets of Tinghae, like those of Canton and all other Chinese towns, are very narrow, and most of the houses are built of wood, and are painted and highly varnished. The temples are among the finest to be seen in any part of China, particularly that dedicated to Confucius, the walls of which are composed of very beautiful mosaic work. To all the Buddhist temples were attached a number of buildings in which the priests resided, but they were all deserted on the approach of the enemy, except in one or two instances, where some aged devotee was left to watch over the lights burning before the idols. The joss-sticks which emit these lights are frequently set in jars filled with earth, and being ignited, burn down very

Buddhist Temple.

slowly, diffusing a very agreeable odour. In one of the temples were observed three gigantic figures, seated in arm-chairs, large lanterns being suspended before them; and on a long table, beautifully carved, were placed a great many jars with joss-sticks burning in them, besides several porcelain vases filled with flowers; and, what was still more remarkable, at each corner of the table was a jar, filled with sticks, on which characters were engraved, referring to certain books hung against the wall, which are gravely consulted by the Chusanites in the regulation of their affairs. Thus, if a man is about to undertake a journey, he proceeds to the temple, and having selected one of the sticks, he turns to the page pointed out by it, that he may ascertain whether the expedition will prove fortunate, and which is the lucky day for setting out.

The flight of the inhabitants from Tinghae was followed by the plunder of all the houses and shops in which any property had been left; not by the invaders, but by the Chinese, of whom numbers of the poorer classes are the greatest and cleverest thieves in existence. The presence of the English did not deter the pilferers from crowding into the town, and carrying off whatever they could seize; till these depredations were in some measure checked by the British officers, who posted sentinels at the gates, to prevent anything being taken out, except coffins for interment. These were suffered to pass without question, until their numbers began to excite attention; when they were examined, and as had been suspected, found to contain all kinds of goods that could be put into them.

The peaceful demeanour of the English encouraged many of the citizens to return and re-open their shops, while the country people supplied them plentifully with provisions; but the climate was found unhealthy for the British troops, many of whom died there, owing, it is supposed, to the dampness of the flat lands, which are always so wet that the fields can only be crossed by the narrow paved causeways constructed for that purpose.

The news of the capture of Chusan was received with the utmost rage at the court of Peking. The emperor wrote immediately to Viceroy Lin, with his own hand, or, to use the Chinese expression, with the "vermilion pencil," expressing his extreme dissatisfaction that his officers had not put a stop to the rebellious proceedings of the barbarians; and commanding the viceroy to repair immediately to Peking, to answer for his misconduct. The emperor also wrote to Elepoo, the governor of Ningpo, an aged mandarin and a member of the imperial family, desiring that he would cause to be constructed, without delay, several vessels on the model of the English ships of war, to be employed against the barbarian occupants of Chusan. The governor forwarded this extraordinary order to the head of the naval department at Ningpo, who, being utterly ignorant of the construction of English ships, and fearing the consequences of disobedience, killed himself in despair.

In the mean time events had occurred in other quarters. On the 19th of August, H. M. ships "Hyacinth" and "Larne" attacked a great Chinese force and batteries at the Macao barrier, destroying guns, taking the camp, and killing about sixty soldiers. The men threw the blame of their quick and scandalous flight on the cowardice of the officers, who, they said, were the first to run away. Nearly at the same time an imposing force, consisting of the "Wellesley," "Blonde," "Modeste," "Volage," "Pylades," and "Madagascar," anchored off Takoo, near the entrance of the Peiho river. The day they came to anchor (the 9th of August) was the anniversary of the day on which our last embassy, under Lord Amherst, had landed at Takoo, to proceed up the river to Peking, where they met with such scandalous treatment. We were now at a comparatively very short distance from that capital, to which our troops might easily have been sent by water. But negociation, and not fighting, was the order of the day. With the steamer Captain Eliot ascended the Peiho as far as the town of Tient-sing, where he entered into tedious negociations with Keshen, the viceroy of the province, who had just been appointed imperial high commissioner. The grand object of this wily negociator was to get the British force removed from the vicinity of Peking, to which city the distance by land was only one hundred miles. During the protracted conferences, the admiral profited of the time to sail farther northward, and to visit the extremity of the Great Wall at Shanai-Kwan, where it passes down towards the sea. "As if in mockery of all natural obstacles, this gigantic barrier, between twenty and thirty feet in height and twenty feet broad, displays itself as far as the eye can reach, traversing the very tops of the mountains, some of them computed at 3000 feet above the sea's level, and those farther inland much higher."*

Except the gratification which this sight of one of the world's wonders must have afforded to the officers and men of her majesty's ships, we can scarcely discover any benefit produced by our fleet going to the Peiho; for, instead of keeping that vantage ground when they had taken it up, or striking a decisive blow, or making a formidable demonstration which would have scared the imperial court from the capital, and have induced it to submit to almost any terms in order to get back thither, it was agreed that the negociations should be removed to Canton, and that our commissioners should be sent to that city to meet Keshen, the very same minister with whom they had been so idly conferring on the Peiho.

Our war-ships, and war-steamers, and troops returned to Chusan, at the end of October. The people in the neighbourhood of the capital had been far more civil and friendly to them than any of the inhabitants of the more distant provinces. The fact is, that people there were more disaffected to their own government. The ships were plentifully supplied with provisions by the country people of Takoo, who brought to them pigs, ducks, eggs, and vegetables in abundance. As they moved from station to station, these natives followed, and at every place where they anchored established a market on the shore, by erecting a number of houses with bamboo poles and mats, the women and children assisting in the work; so that a little village was built in a few hours, and carried away with ease, whenever they wished to remove.

Our fleet once removed from the Peiho, the course of the monsoons would prevent its returning thither for another year, or at least for eight months. The emperor and his grandees knew this very well, and they forthwith plucked up heart and impudence. The English barbarians had approached the capital of the Celestial Empire, to present a respectful and obedient petition; they had been *compelled* to retire, and they all merited extermination. So ran various proclamations, written with "the vermilion pencil." And this ought to have been foreseen by our admiral and negociators when they sailed away from the Peiho. On the 20th of November, when we sent a steamer to the Bogue with despatches for the minister Keshen, she was fired upon by the Chinese, and for this outrage a very insufficient apology was offered. Captain Eliot continued to treat with the said Keshen, but on the 6th of January, 1841, in the very midst of the negociations, an edict was issued that all English ships, all Englishmen, should be destroyed wherever they should be met with near China. In consequence of this violation of the existing truce, Commodore Sir Gordon Bremer moved his forces, and on the 7th of January attacked and reduced the forts of Chuen-Pe and Tae-cok-tow, capturing one hundred and seventy-three Chinese guns. As he was preparing for an attack on the Bogue forts, Admiral Kwang solicited another armistice, which, strange to say, was granted by our inexplicable negociator Captain Eliot.

---

* Sir J. F. Davis, "Sketches of China."

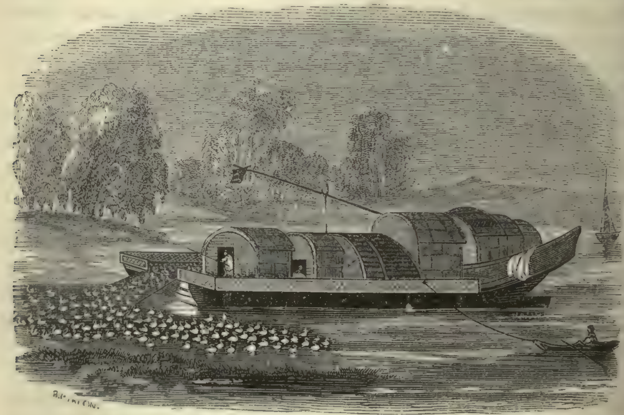
During this second truce other excesses were committed by the Chinese, and when it had lasted a month, there arrived from Peking an edict, in which the emperor entirely disapproved of Keshen's pacific policy. At the same time, high rewards were offered by the Canton authorities for the bodies of Englishmen, dead or alive. The price put upon the commodore and the other chiefs was 50,000 dollars a-piece, if taken alive; for their heads, 25,000 dollars.

Sir Gordon Bremer now resolved to do that which ought to have been done at first, and at least a year sooner; he returned to the Canton river to demolish the Bogue forts.

Above those forts the river expands considerably in width, being in some places five or six miles broad, but towards Whampoa it again becomes narrow, and a little below that village divides itself into two branches, from which numerous streams and canals run in all directions through many miles of paddy-fields.

On these waters dwell thousands of families in boats, which may rather be called floating houses, for the poor people who inhabit them have no other homes. The river population of Canton is estimated at 200,000, of whom the men go on shore in the day to work in the fields, or at any employment they can obtain; while the women earn a little money by carrying passengers in their boats, which they manage with much dexterity.

There are many of these dwellers on the waters, who gain their livelihood by rearing ducks. The boats for this purpose



have on each side a compartment of basket-work, resting on the water, in which the ducks are kept at night, being sent out in the day to find their own food in the lakes and marshes.

Each flock knows its own boat, and returns at the signal of the master, who stands on a platform to whistle back his feathered family, which is instantly seen swimming homeward. There are also other boats, of a handsomer description, fitted up in very elegant style; and these serve as cafés, where Chinese gentlemen spend their evenings.

The appearance of our fleet above the Bogue caused great consternation among the inhabitants of the Canton river, who speedily removed their residences beyond the scene of danger.

On the 26th of February all the Bogue forts were battered and taken with very little difficulty. Poor Admiral Kwan was killed at his post, and 459 guns were captured. There was a very strong Chinese force on the hills behind the forts, but it ran away in the most perfect panic and disorder as soon as the batteries were taken. Many lost their lives in attempting to swim across the river: and of the thousand men, or thereabout, who fell on this day, nearly every man met his death in running away; for those who had fought for a short time in the batteries were covered by very strong walls, and suffered little loss there. On the morrow our smaller ships moved up to the first bar. Here were found a long fortification on the river bank, an entrenched camp of 3000 or 4000 troops, defended by more than 100 cannon, and a strong raft thrown across the river from bank to bank. The ships and steamers knocked the batteries to pieces; and 200 or 300 British troops and Sepoys being landed, drove the enemy before them, burned the camp, and removed or destroyed all the stores; and then our steamers leisurely removed the great raft. In this affair some few of the imperial troops (most probably newly-imported Tartars) displayed considerable courage; but, with their wretched discipline, the best of them could not stand even before our Sepoys. By the 1st of March, the lighter part of our squadron, which was quite heavy enough to destroy that city, proceeded up the river to Canton; and on the following day Sir Hugh (now Lord) Gough arrived to take the command of our land forces. On the 6th of that month the foreign factories and Fort Napier were occupied by our troops, and a proclamation was issued to the people of Canton, offering to spare the city from bombardment on condition of the population remaining quiet. At this juncture, the cunning negociator, Keshen, degraded and deprived of his office, was carried as a state prisoner from Canton. The Chinese having fired upon a flag of truce, our forces destroyed a fleet of their junks and boats, took possession of some of the suburbs of Canton, and captured 461 more guns.

The loss of the Bogue forts, which they had believed to be impregnable, and these operations in front of the second city in the empire, would have been more than sufficient to bring the Chinese to reason; but in the course of a whole year of war they had learned how readily our officers always listened to terms of peace, and agreed to armistices. They therefore determined to hold out, and to gain time; and once more, on the 20th of March, a suspension of hostilities was agreed to. A new imperial commissioner arrived at Canton, but he equivocated even more than Keshen; and while he was wearing out the patience of our negociators, hosts of troops from the interior were marching to the coast, boasting (poor creatures!) that they would drive us into the sea. When a month had thus passed, Captain Eliot, for the third time, prepared to attack Canton. While so doing, our ships were attacked by the Chinese with great guns and fire-rafts, which, however, could do no mischief, and were very speedily disposed of. The "Nemesis" burned upwards of sixty of the fire-rafts, and some small ships of war silenced the batteries along shore. Three days after this (on the 24th of May, 1841) the British forces commenced operations, in earnest, against Canton. On the morning of the 25th, Sir Hugh Gough, with about 2500 men and artillery, moved towards the forts and camps on heights behind the city, distant about three miles. After firing at long shots, about half an hour, the Chinese, in immense numbers, evacuated forts and camps, and scampered down the hills towards the city, leaving ninety guns behind them. Our troops burned the camps, occupied the heights, and quietly bivouacked there for the night. On the 26th, preparations were made for setting wood-and-bamboo Canton in a blaze, which might have been done with a few shells and rockets; but it appears that the proper ammunition had not been brought up, and a parley was requested from the now deserted city walls by two officers, who agreed to send a deputation to make arrangements. Night came on, and the deputation appeared not. On the morrow morning (the 27th of May), when our troops were in position, our artillery loaded and primed, and everything in readiness for opening the fire, the Canton authorities agreed to pay 6,000,000 dollars for the ransom of the city; and hereupon, to the disappointment of our men, another cessation of hostilities was granted. Four days after this (May 31), 5,000,000 were paid, security was given for the remainder, and the British forces withdrew from Canton, which no Chinese force could have saved or even protected for an hour. An American writer, who was near the spot, says:—"To save the terrible slaughter which would have ensued, not only from the enemy without the walls, but from the great number of troops pent up inside, with an exasperated populace, was a merciful motive for accepting the ransom: the subsequent ill-conduct of the people of that city towards foreigners has, however, poorly requited the kindness shown on this occasion."*

Ferocious conflicts took place within the city between the lawless troops from the interior and the citizens; the soldiers wanting to plunder, and the citizens defending their property. It is stated on good evidence that, in one of these affrays, more than a thousand persons were killed in the streets, and that, in some instances, the savage soldiery were seen devouring the bodies of those they had killed. But, nearly everywhere, there was an exhibition of as much ferocity as cowardice.

One might have thought our war now ended, but it was destined to "drag its slow length along" through twelve more mortal months. There was, however, a change for the better;

---

* S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," &c.

for Captain Eliot was superseded, and the active and accomplished Sir Henry Pottinger arrived (on the 10th of August, 1841) in Macao roads, as sole Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty. Before his arrival, trade with Canton was fully re-opened, and opium was selling more quickly and more openly than ever. Yet the court of Peking had not foregone its practices of issuing insulting edicts, nor had it ceased levying troops to prosecute the war. The mandarins, moreover, were most barbarously treating a few prisoners whom they had kidnapped, and reporting, from the sufferings and complaints of these unfortunates, that the red-bristled barbarians were, after all, but a chicken-hearted people, who feared pain and death just like other men. The mandarins of Canton, regardless of the truce, were erecting new fortifications in many places along the river, and repairing those which had been injured.

Stone-cutter.

The new British negociator adopted a different line of conduct from that pursued by his predecessor, giving the Chinese authorities to understand that they must either accede to all the demands of the British government, or expect that very decided steps would be taken to force them into compliance. Not only did he require payment for the opium, but that other ports, besides that of Canton, should be opened to British trade; and he resolved not to terminate the war on any other conditions.

An expedition was immediately undertaken against Amoy, a strongly-fortified city and port, in an island of the same name, belonging to the province of Fokien, and situated within a spacious bay, about half-way between Canton and Chusan. The town is large and populous, defended by stone walls and batteries, and has, from time immemorial, been a place of great trade, its merchants being classed among the most wealthy and enterprising in the Eastern world. It has a very fine harbour, with every convenience for loading and unloading ships, which can sail close up to the houses; and it also possesses a fine citadel, with a cannon foundry, and vast magazines for military stores in the suburbs, which are separated from the city by a chain of rocky hills, over which a paved road leads through a pass, with a massive gateway on the highest point. The streets of the city are narrow, but they contain several handsome temples, and houses belonging to the mandarins and merchants.

The fleet destined to attack this important place appeared off Amoy on the 26th of August. The mandarins immediately despatched an officer with a flag of truce, to know why so many ships had come together, and what commodities they wanted. He was told they were not come to trade with the people of Amoy, which he knew perfectly well; and Sir Henry Pottinger sent a written answer, addressed to the chief commanding officer of Fokien, stating that the differences existing between the Chinese empire and Great Britain made it his duty to take possession of the town, and to hold it until those differences should be settled; therefore he intimated that, to save bloodshed, he would advise that it should be surrendered without resistance. The hint had not the desired effect. When the "Blonde" frigate came into this harbour fourteen months previously, to try and open friendly communications, the fortifications consisted only of two or three mean forts near the city; but in the interval they had been greatly increased. Every island and protecting headland overlooking the harbour had been occupied and fortified, and there was now a continuous line of stone wall more than a mile long, with embrasures, bastions, and batteries. The broadsides of our ships had little effect on these stone works, and it was not until about 1200 of our troops landed and drove out their garrisons, who stood rather manfully to their guns, that the fire slackened and the Chinese took to flight. According to a good authority, the "Wellesley" and "Blenheim," line-of-battle ships, fired each 12,000 rounds, besides the discharges from the frigates and steamers; and this tremendous cannonading was continued for four hours, without the least real damage to the fortifications, and without killing more than between twenty and thirty Chinamen. A wasteful, inconsiderate, inglorious, absurd consumption of powder, if this story be true, or even near to truth! Our land forces who carried the works had not one man killed, and only a very few men wounded. The Chinese, who were about 8000 strong, ran away on the approach of our first weak column of attack, and ran so fast that hardly any more of them were killed. But, in fact, even our native Indian troops were by this time ashamed of killing or pursuing such dastardly enemies. As for the British soldiers, they contented themselves with setting up a shout, and waving their hands for the Celestials to move on; and those petticoated heroes moved on, and moved off, accordingly. Except when they caught a Tartar (and some of the Tartars fought), our people generally treated the business of a battle as a mere joke. But for the climate, our losses in all this campaigning would have been infinitessimally small.

When the city was entered by the British troops, it was found in much the same state as Tinghae on a similar occasion. The most respectable of the inhabitants had fled, and a great deal of property had been removed, but much had been necessarily left behind; and the streets were soon filled with plunderers, who, in spite of the efforts of the soldiery, contrived to appropriate a vast quantity of goods to which they had no claim. Leaving a garrison at Koo-long-soo, a small rocky island, forming part of the fortifications of Amoy, the expedition proceeded to Chusan, which was speedily re-occupied, but not without the sacrifice of many lives on the part of the Chinese, who made an attempt to defend Tinghae, but were soon obliged to surrender; and this fine island was again governed by a British magistracy.

The next conquest was that of Chinhae, a large and opulent city at the mouth of the Ningpo river, the occupation of which was a preliminary step to the attack upon Ningpo itself. Chinhae stands at the foot of a lofty hill, and is enclosed by a high wall, about thirty-seven feet in thickness, over which may be seen the tall masts of vessels, gliding along a branch of the river that runs through the town. On the summit of the hill is the citadel, which, from its commanding position, is most important as a military station, being, as it were, the key to both Chinhae and Ningpo, the latter situated about fifteen miles up the river. This fortress is also surrounded by a strong wall, with massive gates, and on two sides the height is so precipitous that it is inaccessible, except at one point, where a narrow path winds from the sea, which skirts the base of the hill, and to this path there is no way by land. The citadel communicates with the town, by a steep causeway, to a barrier gate, at the bottom of the hill, where a bridge, over a moat, leads to one of the city gates; and when the British fleet arrived, every point was fortified with batteries, and guns mounted, while the hills were covered with encampments.

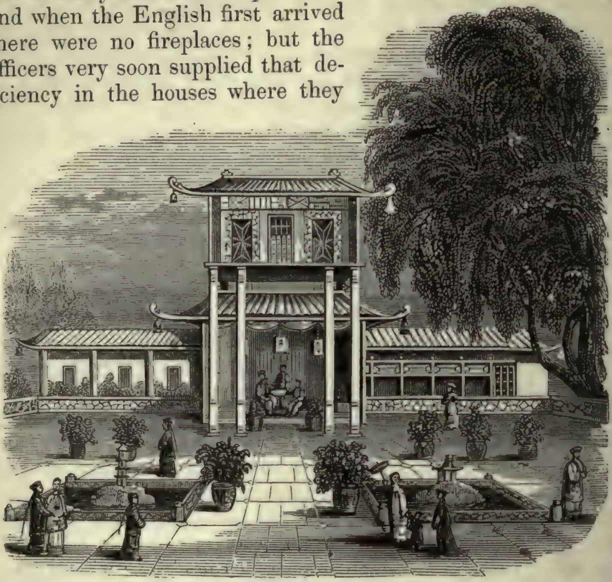
On the morning of the 10th of October, about 2200 men, with twelve field-pieces and mortars, were landed to attack the citadel and entrenched camp. In these positions alone there were about 9000 Chinese and Mantchu Tartars, who formed in tolerable order as the English advanced, opening a well-directed fire upon our front column, but quite neglecting two smaller columns sent round to turn their flanks; and as these three columns opened upon them nearly at the same time, their whole force was completely bewildered, and soon broke and fled in all directions. Knowing nothing of the mode of asking for quarter, and not being themselves in the habit of giving quarter, while some fled into the country the greater part retreated towards the water, pursued by our columns. Hundreds were shot or bayoneted, and more hundreds were drowned. Sir Hugh Gough sent out a flag, with Chinese written upon it, to inform them that their lives would be spared if they yielded; but not more than 500 either could or would throw down their arms. The water was covered with dead bodies, and, besides a large number of wounded, full 1500 lost their lives. Meanwhile the town and its defences on the north side of the river were bombarded by our ships, and the troops driven out. Yukien, the very high mandarin who commanded, on seeing that the day was lost, attempted to drown himself; and being prevented from so doing, he fled beyond Ningpo, and committed suicide in another manner. He was a proud Mantchu, and could not brook his master's displeasure; and his atrocious cruelty to two foreigners who had fallen into his hands (one of them he had flayed and then roasted alive) had aroused general detestation, and made him fear that, if caught, he would be treated in the like manner. But the people of the country are very prone to self-destruction; not only Mantchus, but many Chinese, who had not courage to stand and fight, had resolution enough to commit suicide, which is not regarded either as a crime or as a dishonourable action. It should appear that, after every one of our facile victories, one or two or more mandarins made away with themselves. At Chinhae, about 150 pieces of brass ordnance, many iron guns, matchlocks, and other military stores, were captured, together with great quantities of rice and other provisions. Unhappily, our bombardment caused the death of a number of poor, inoffensive towns-people, who of themselves would rather have welcomed us than have offered any resistance.

Chinhae was taken on the 10th of October, and on the following day the fleet proceeded up the river to Ningpo, having left a guard of 300 men in the captured city. The name of the river is the Tahee, and the country through which it runs is a highly-cultivated plain, intersected with numerous canals, and abounding with cattle, which is an unusual sight in China. The villages are numerous, and a large town is situated at every five or six miles along the river, while in the distance are seen ranges of lofty hills, forming the boundary of a very charming prospect. The whole province of Chekeang is luxuriant and beautiful, and contains an immense population, all the towns and villages being crowded with inhabitants. Numerous families also dwell on the waters, which are enlivened by verdure, as the poor people who lead this amphibious kind of life cultivate little gardens on board their barges.

In the same province, Hang-chow-foo, which, under some of the early dynasties, was the capital of the empire, is still one of the most wealthy and pleasant cities of China. It is supposed to contain a population equal to that of Paris, and is adorned with many elegant buildings. The shops are handsome, and well stocked, not only with native produce, but with British manufactures, particularly broad-cloth, which is very much used in this and the more northern parts of China. The country around Hang-chow-foo is studded with ornamented villas and lofty pagodas, and is beautifully diversified with hill and dale, the former covered to the summit with a variety of trees and shrubs, among which the camphor and tallow-trees are conspicuous, the one by their bright green, the other by their purple leaves; and as Chekeang is one of the principal silk provinces, plantations of mulberry-trees are found in every part.

The city of Ningpo, now a place of so much interest and importance to Great Britain, was taken without the least opposition on the part of the inhabitants, many of whom assisted the English to scale the walls and open the gates, which had been barricaded; so that, happily, the terrible scenes that had occurred at Chinhae were not enacted on this occasion. The inhabitants wrote on the doors of their houses the words *Shun min*, meaning "Submissive people." About 35,000*l.* in silver, many tons of copper cash, with rice, silk, and porcelain, made up the most valuable prize yet taken. It was determined to occupy the city as winter quarters. Ningpo is a much larger city than Chinhae, and being in the vicinity of the green-tea districts, it is very conveniently situated as a trading station for British vessels. It has six arched gates, and is almost surrounded by water, the river running on one side almost close to the walls, and a canal, forming a boundary to the remainder of the city, with the exception of a small part of the suburbs. The ramparts are high, and so wide that three carriages might be driven abreast on their summit, and the walls are strengthened by huge square buttresses on the inside.

The houses in Ningpo have generally two stories, the one raised above the other on pillars, each story having a separate tiled roof. All the good houses are within a small court, the latter paved with flag-stones, and ornamented with flower-beds, and tanks for gold fish. The principal entrance to these abodes consists of the usual triple doors, but those which form a communication between different apartments are of many fantastic shapes. There are no glass windows, and when the English first arrived there were no fireplaces; but the officers very soon supplied that deficiency in the houses where they established themselves, and have thus introduced a convenience into China which will, probably, become general among a people who are by no means indifferent to their personal comforts.



A curious incident, illustrative of the Chinese character, is related by one of the British officers, as having occurred during his residence at Ningpo. A paper was one day thrown over the wall, addressed to the English, containing, among other arguments, this singular appeal to their feelings, on the impropriety of remaining any longer in China:—"You have been away from your country long enough; your mothers and sisters must be longing for your return. Go back to your families, for we do not want you here."

It is foreign to the purpose of the present work to give a detailed account of the operations of the war; these have been described by military men, whose works are before the public, and must be familiar to the recollection of most readers. We shall merely touch upon the great decisive conflicts, intermixing a few descriptions of scenery and manners.

Although he had lost Amoy, Tinghae, Chinhae, and Ningpo, and ought to have understood by this time that none of his forces could stand against the British, the emperor was not yet sufficiently humbled. A month after the capture of Ningpo he put forth another edict, urging the extermination of the barbarians. In the month of December three other places were reduced, and, nevertheless, he held out.

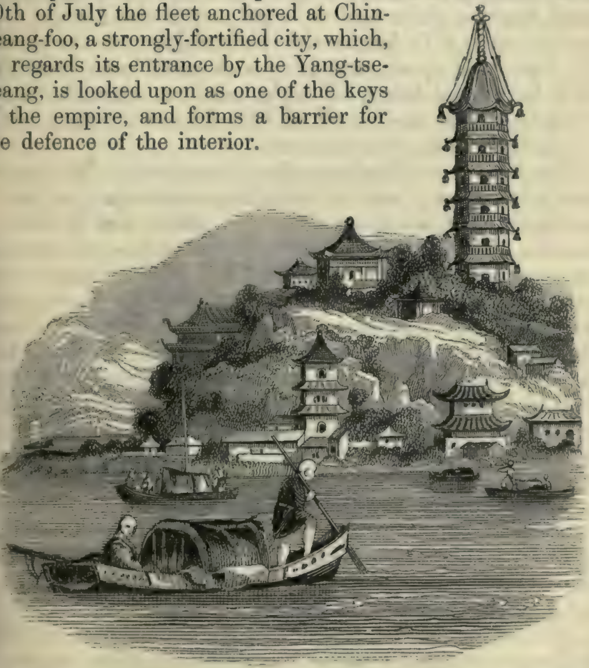
In the month of March, 1842, the Chinese made a desperate effort to recover the cities of Chinhae and Ningpo, which they entered by night, by scaling the walls; but in both cases they were repulsed with considerable loss. At Ningpo about 250 soldiers were killed in the market-place, when the remainder saved themselves by flight, scrambling over the walls in the utmost confusion. This attack appears to have been the result of a plan, concerted among the chiefs of the army and some of the governors, as a fleet of junks was sent just at the same time against Chusan, but equally without effect.

Having failed in their enterprises the Chinese forces assembled at Tsekee, a town about eleven miles from Ningpo, where they formed an extensive encampment, and endeavoured to cut off the supplies that were carried every day, by the country people, into the city. This measure brought on an immediate engagement, and again the imperial troops were put to flight, leaving above 600 dead upon the field. For two months after this battle hostilities were suspended, and the markets, as in time of peace, were plentifully supplied with poultry, fish, and very fine vegetables.

About this time the emperor removed to Zhehol for the summer, which gave rise to a report in the British army that he had fled in dismay, on hearing of the preparations that were making for the invasion of the capital; but this mistake was soon discovered, as he haughtily refused to listen to the proposed terms of peace, and continued to issue orders for the total annihilation of the enemy, not being aware of the true state of affairs.

On the 7th of May the British army left Ningpo, on its progress towards the north, The intention of the general was to proceed to Nanking, and take possession of that important city, as a prelude to the attack on Peking, provided the emperor should persist in refusing to make peace on the terms demanded by the government of Great Britain. Between the mouths of the Tahee and Yang-tse-keang, or Ningpo and Nanking rivers, on the coast of Chekeang, stands the town of Chapoo, the chief port of communication between China and Japan. It is situated at the foot of a chain of wooded hills, which, on the landing of the English, were covered with Tartar troops, who fled without making any attempt to prevent the invaders from entering the city. The Tartar inhabitants of Chapoo, those who were able to bear arms being all soldiers, occupied a small division of the town, separated from that of the Chinese by a wall, and built with the regularity of an encampment, where they dwelt with their wives and children, many of whom were made widows and orphans on that fatal day: for, unfortunately, when the soldiers fled from the heights, a party of about 300 Tartars took refuge in a temple, to which they were pursued; and under the mistaken idea that, if they surrendered, no quarter would be given, they fired on the enemy, killing and wounding several British officers—an act of useless resistance, that cost the lives of all, with the exception of about forty, who were made prisoners, but were subsequently released. Those who had sought safety in flight on the first appearance of the British force, carried their families away with them; but most of the poor women whose husbands were killed at the joss-house, not knowing where to look for protection, and fully impressed with a belief that perpetual slavery would be their lot, should they fall into the hands of the foe, threw their helpless infants into the tanks and wells, and then destroyed themselves or each other. Many were saved by the timely interference of those they feared. From this, and many other scenes of horror witnessed during the war, it is evident that suicide is of more frequent occurrence in China than in any other part of the known world, Japan only excepted.

Soon after the capture of Chapoo the fleet entered the river Yang-tse-keang, or the "Child of the Ocean." This noble stream rises in Thibet, and flows through 2700 miles of country ere it reaches the sea, being called the largest river in the world except the Mississippi and the Amazon; and, considering the innumerable canals which it supplies with water, to keep the country through which it passes under constant irrigation, the commerce carried on upon its bosom, the fruitfulness of its banks, and the depth and breadth of its waters, it may well claim a place among the great rivers of the globe. The right bank of the Yang-tse-keang is more picturesque than the left, on account of the chains of hills which rise behind each other, and which are covered with rich and varied foliage, not merely in the distance, but sweeping down to the banks of the stream; while the country on the other side is flat, and cultivated with rice, but rendered pleasing to the eye by many neat little villages. As the fleet sailed majestically up the river, the villagers flocked in crowds to the shore, to gaze at the novel spectacle of steam-ships on the waters of China. On the 20th of July the fleet anchored at Chin-keang-foo, a strongly-fortified city, which, as regards its entrance by the Yang-tse-keang, is looked upon as one of the keys of the empire, and forms a barrier for the defence of the interior.



The river is, in this part, about a mile and a half broad, and near the shore rises the famous mountain of Kinshan, or Golden Island, the beauties of which are so highly celebrated by all Europeans who have had the good fortune to behold them. The town was garrisoned by Tartars, and the hills overhanging the river were covered with encampments of Chinese troops, who were in such numbers as to present at first a very formidable appearance; but no sooner had the English set foot upon the shore, than they fled down the hills and dispersed in all directions, so great was the terror now inspired by the sight of British soldiers. The Tartars, however, bravely defended the city, disputing every inch of ground, and firing incessantly from the ramparts, which were at length ascended by scaling-ladders, and after some desperate fighting, in which many Englishmen were killed, the British flag was planted on the walls. Still the Tartars continued to resist with determined valour, fighting in the streets with their long spears, and firing with matchlocks from the houses for several hours, till night came on, when they were obliged to give up the contest, and the inhabitants then began to make their escape from the city.

The taking of Chin-keang-foo is memorable for one of those extraordinary acts of individual resolution to which some would give the name of heroism, others that of folly or madness. The Tartar general, who had made the greatest exertions to save the city, when he found that the contest was decided in favour of the enemy, went into his house, and, taking his accustomed seat in an arm-chair, ordered his servants to set fire to the dwelling. His body was found the next day much burned, but retaining the sitting posture in which he had placed himself to meet the approach of death. Probably he had swallowed opium, to deaden his senses ere the flames reached him, as this is supposed to be not an uncommon practice. On the morning after the battle, the streets were found strewed with the dead, the houses were mostly deserted, those of the government officers were in flames, the shops were broken open and plundered by the Chinese rabble, and female suicide was committed to a more fearful extent than even at Chapoo.

But let us leave this scene of horror, and proceed with the fleet to the famous city of Nanking, forty miles higher up the river. This ancient capital is still a large, populous, and wealthy city; and although exhibiting none of that splendour which depends on the residence of the court, is still superior, in many respects, to the present metropolis. It is the residence of a great number of literary men, and has many flourishing manufactures, particularly those of silk, and the cotton cloth which is known by its name. The city and its vicinity present many objects of attraction, among which the porcelain tower still holds the first place. This celebrated work of art, and the temple to which it is attached, were built by the Emperor Yong-lo, ere he removed the seat of government from Nanking to Peking.

The pagoda is the most elegant structure of the kind that has hitherto been met with by Europeans in China, and takes its name from the tiles of white porcelain with which the solid brickwork of the building is covered, every tile being cast in a mould, with an indenture in the shape of a half cross, the bricks having a projecting piece of a similar form, which fits into the cavity. The tower consists of nine stories, and is remarkable for its correct proportions. Its form is octagonal, the angles being marked on each side by a row of tiles, red and green placed alternately. A light balustrade of green porcelain runs round each story, at every corner of which hangs a bell. The staircase is within the wall, and communicates with every floor. Each story forms a room with a painted roof, and contains a number of idols placed in niches; and each room has four windows, placed towards the four cardinal points. There are priests attached to this pagoda, to keep it in good order, and to see that it is illuminated at all festivals, the expenses being paid by the contributions of those who bestow money for such purposes, in the hope of propitiating the deities.

The ancient palaces, observatories, and sepulchres were destroyed by the Tartars. Nanking is still celebrated as a seat of Chinese learning, and sends more members to the Imperial College of Peking than any other city. The books, the paper, and the printing of Nanking, are celebrated through the country as being unrivalled. The best Chinese (called by us *Indian*) ink is manufactured in a neighbouring city. The silks, the teas, and the various other products of this province, render it the most valuable part of the whole empire; and its climate is excellent. The famous pirate, Koshinga, who so long possessed the island of Formosa, once sailed up to Nanking, and laid siege to it.

It was about the middle of August when the British fleet arrived within sight of Nanking, which was garrisoned by about 14,000 troops; and here another sanguinary conflict was expected, but, happily, this anticipation was not realised, for just as the attack was about to be commenced, letters reached camp, and the British general, Sir Hugh Gough, was informed that certain high commissioners, deputed by the emperor, were on their way for the purpose of negociating a peace. These joyful tidings were speedily confirmed by the arrival of the three delegates: Keyning, an uncle of the emperor, an elderly man of dignified manners, whose rank was denoted by his yellow girdle; Elepoo, the former governor of Chekeang, who was distinguished as a member of the royal family by his red girdle; and a Tartar general, whose girdle was blue. The last, having been degraded for some offence, wore a cap with a white ball on the top, while the caps of his three attendant officers were distinguished by balls of a blue colour, denoting a superior rank to that of their master, who had not been deprived of his command, although lowered in point of dignity, a case of very common occurrence at the capricious court of the Celestial Empire. These high functionaries were conveyed on board the "Cornwallis" in a steam-vessel, and opened the negociations which terminated in a treaty of peace. The negociations were renewed on shore, Sir Henry Pottinger being assisted by Colonel Malcolm, Messrs. Morrison, Thom, and Gutzlaff; and on the 29th of August, 1842, the treaty was fully concluded, and signed on board the "Cornwallis."

As the British plenipotentiary had yielded nothing of his demands, all the concession was on the part of the Chinese government, which was thus placed in the novel position of being compelled to listen to the dictates of a foreign power, notwithstanding the vain-glorious boasting of a minister, who in one of his despatches had said, "Shall a small nation dare to propose terms to the great central empire? Such presumption cannot be borne!" The small nation did, however, propose terms, and the great central empire was obliged to accede to them.

The articles of the treaty were these: "Lasting peace and friendship to be preserved between the two empires. China to pay 21,000,000 of dollars.* The five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Shang-hae, and Ningpo, to be open to the British, who should have the liberty of appointing consuls to reside in those towns; and regular tariffs of import and export duties to be established, so that the merchants might not be subjected, as they had been, to the impositions of the Chinese authorities." The island of Hong-kong was to be ceded for ever to the crown of England. All subjects of Great Britain, whether European or Indian, then prisoners, were to be released, without ransom or conditions of any kind. And, lastly, the emperor was to grant a free pardon to all those of his own subjects who had incurred penalties by holding intercourse with the British officers.

The emperor objected strongly to the opening of Foo-choo-foo, on account of its vicinity to the principal black-tea districts; alleging that if the English shipped their tea at this port, instead of at Canton, the trade of the latter place would be ruined, and great numbers of his subjects thereby injured: but as the object of gaining access to this port was the very one that formed the ground of objection on the part of the Chinese government, namely, to avoid the inconvenience and expense of bringing goods 400 miles for shipment, this point was insisted on, and eventually gained by the British plenipotentiary, who, as a security for the execution of the treaty, announced his intention of keeping possession of Chusan and Koo-long-soo, until all the money should be paid, and the rest of the terms fully completed.

Foo-choo-foo, a place of considerable trade, and the capital of the province of Fokien, is seated on the banks of the Min, one of the great rivers of China. The country around is mountainous, and the scenery on the borders of the river is described as being very romantic and beautiful, resembling, here and there, the most picturesque parts of the banks of the Rhine; and as the climate is much more temperate than in the southern provinces, Foo-choo-foo will probably be more pleasant to the English as a place of residence than Canton.

---

* Of these 21,000,000, 12,000,000 were for the expenses of the war, 3,000,000 for debts due to English merchants, and 6,000,000 for the opium which Lin had seized in the Canton river.

The city stands on both sides of the river, the two parts being connected by a celebrated stone bridge, consisting of thirty-three arches, which is mentioned as a wonderful work of art by the Jesuit writers of the seventeenth century. The liberty of trading to Foo-choo-foo is of the utmost importance to this country, as the black teas can be brought in boats direct to the ships from the farms where they are grown, and thus the enormous expenses of land-carriage to Canton will be obviated. Shang-hae is one of the greatest commercial emporiums of Eastern Asia, being advantageously situated for native trade on the river Woo-sung, which flows into the mouth of the Yang-tse-keang, and thus communicates with the Great Canal and the Yellow River. This port has a commodious harbour, and is frequented by trading-junks from all parts of the empire. The streets are narrow, but many of them are paved with tiles, and although the shops are small, they are plentifully stocked with native commodities of all descriptions; and many of them contain English broad-cloths, and other European goods. The great advantage of Shang-hae as a British station is its easy communication by water with the interior provinces of the empire, and with the populous cities on the Yang-tse-keang and the Imperial Canal.

After the signing of the treaty at Nanking, the British ships began to leave the river, and by the end of October the troops had all returned to their several stations. Lord Saltoun was appointed governor of Hong-kong, where improvements had been made since the British had been in possession of the island. The new town, the principal part of which is built on a hill, had made considerable progress, and many marine villas had been erected by the English officers; but the climate was found to be very unhealthy.

The peace so happily concluded at Nanking was in some danger of being disturbed by intelligence which reached the British plenipotentiary, soon after his return to Amoy, of an atrocious act committed by the Chinese authorities at Formosa, who had put to death the crews of two vessels which had been wrecked some months previously on that island. The unfortunate men, amounting to above 280, thus cruelly deprived of life, were mostly natives of India, but subjects of Great Britain. There were also a few Europeans and

Americans, six of whom were spared, on the supposition that they were of higher rank than the rest, and ought to be sent to Peking for execution; for it appeared that the emperor had sanctioned the perpetration of this enormity, under a false impression that the ships had come to the island with hostile intent. Sir Henry Pottinger, on receiving the melancholy news, peremptorily demanded that all those who had been concerned in the transaction should be degraded, and their property given up for the benefit of the families of the sufferers. The emperor readily promised to investigate the affair, and make all the amends in his power for the cruelty and injustice of his officers.

Not long after the sad event at Formosa, a serious disturbance took place at Canton. A mob made an attack on the British factory, which was plundered and set on fire. The English and American ladies were placed under the protection of Mingqua, the Hong merchant, who politely sent sedans to convey them to his factory, and even offered them an asylum in his house; but as the riots were speedily terminated by the arrival of Sir Hugh Gough, they had no occasion to avail themselves of Chinese hospitality, so that the unprecedented event of an English lady paying a visit to a Chinese family, has yet to be recorded among the curious events of the nineteenth century.

The citizens of Amoy, Ningpo, Foo-choo-foo, and Shanghae, hailed the cessation of the war, and the opening of their ports to foreign trade; but different feelings continued to prevail at Canton. The discharged Chinese and Tartar troops lingered about the city, in spite of the orders of government to return home; and being hungry, half naked, and wholly desperate, they were at all times ready for any evil work. The secret societies and the demagogues got hold of some of their leaders, and, to inflame the population generally, spread a report that the English, not satisfied with all they had obtained, were going to make a settlement on the island of Haenan. The report caused great commotion, and it was followed up by a printed proclamation of a most inflammable character. After dwelling upon the greatness and indivisibility of the empire, and the great kindness shown to foreigners in it, the paper continued: "But there is that vile English nation! its ruler is now a woman and then a man, and then, perhaps, a woman again; its people are at one time like birds, and then they are like wild beasts, with dispositions more fierce and furious than the tiger or wolf, and hearts more greedy than the great snake or the hog. These people have ever stealthily devoured all the western barbarians, and, like the demon of the night, they now suddenly exalt themselves. During the reigns of the emperors Kien-lung and Kia-king, these English barbarians humbly besought an entrance, and permission to deliver tribute and presents; they afterwards presumptuously asked to have Chusan, but those divine personages, clearly perceiving their traitorous designs, gave them a peremptory refusal. From that time, linking themselves with traitorous Chinese traders, they have carried on a large trade, and poisoned our brave people with opium. Yes, the English barbarians murder all of us that they can; they are dogs, whose desires can never be satisfied; and, therefore, we need not inquire whether the peace they have now made be real or pretended. Let us all rise, arm, unite, and go against them. Yes, we here bind ourselves to vengeance, and express these our sincere intentions in order to exhibit our high principles and patriotism! The gods from on high clearly behold us: let us not lose our first and firm resolution!"

The strangest things connected with this proclamation, or war manifesto, are these:—1. It was agreed to at a great public meeting at a hall in Canton; 2. The Canton mandarins declared that they had not been able to prevent it, and that they could not safely interfere with it; 3. It was notorious that it had originated in the Triad, and other secret societies.

To counteract the effects, another party, friendly to the English, or to peace, got up other public meetings and printed a counter-declaration; but they were either in the minority, or more timid and less active than their adversaries; and although little way was made in the extermination of our navy and nation, fire was again set to the factories, and a good deal of plunder was carried off by professional thieves who had joined the patriots. Outbreaks have continued to take place from time to time, in Canton, ever since; and it indeed appears that life and property are far less secure now (at that place) than they were before the war and treaty for peace. With all our naval forces at hand, the Canton river has often been left, for long periods at a time, without the protection of any British ship of war.

In July 1844, our merchants in the factories owed their protection and safety to an American brig-of-war, the "St. Louis," which went to their assistance from Wampoa. Yet at this moment we had at Hong-kong, at the distance of only forty miles from Macao, a strong fleet, an admiral, a general with three regiments, and a minister plenipotentiary! On another occasion our merchants owed the safety of their property and lives to the accidental arrival of a small Danish frigate. After long remonstrances sent to England, our home government is said to have ordered that some British ship of war should always be up the river; but it does not appear that this order has been very implicitly obeyed. We had evidently no man-of-war there on the 8th of July, 1846, when the patriots and the mob and thieves again endeavoured to burn and destroy our factories. Our countrymen on shore, being without any military or naval assistance, armed themselves, stood to their arms like brave men, shot about twenty of their crowded and countless assailants, and thus restored tranquillity for a time.

The hostility of this countless rabble of Canton proceeded to such a length that the local government was continually beset by remonstrances, statements, and petitions from Europeans in the factories, and from the native peace party within the city, the only respectable party there. At length it became evident that the local government had no faculty of suppression or coercion, and that it was utterly powerless to carry the stipulations of our treaty of peace into effect; and in May, 1847, measures were taken which ought to have been adopted four years sooner. Several of our vessels of war proceeded to the Bogue Forts, and once more captured and removed or destroyed all their guns. After this energetic measure the Canton mob became more tranquil and respectful, and the Europeans were authorised by the local government to extend the limits of their factories, and to strengthen them as well.

A fatal and most costly mistake was made by those who managed the war and the treaty, in retaining the wretched, pestiferous island of Hong-kong, and giving up the beautiful and salubrious island of Chusan.

Hong-kong, which has already cost us some millions of dollars and many hundreds of valuable lives, is an unproductive, mountainous, lumpish isle, only eight miles long, and, on an average, three miles broad. It is separated from the mainland of China only by a very narrow strait, in no part more than three miles, and at one point scarcely one mile in breadth. This proximity allows the pirates and other plunderers of the main to cross over to the isle by night, and there commit their depredations and atrocities. As there was no level space elsewhere, the English have built their town of Victoria along the sea-beach. With the new Chinese houses included, the town straggles to the length of three miles; breadth or depth it has none, being backed by rugged precipices and mountains which entirely shut it out from the healthy breezes of the ocean. Hong-kong cannot be said to possess any vegetation at all; a few goats with difficulty find support. The rocks, which constitute the whole soil, are composed of rotten decomposing granite, which, as is well known (and *was* well known long before our men in authority took it as a settlement), is as productive of gases and malaria as any bad jungle in India. Scarcely a single man in our service, whether European, Indian, Malay, or Macao Portuguese, has passed any time on the island without suffering most severely in health. The Chinese have always regarded the place as fatal to human life, and they will not continue there beyond a certain season. The mortality of our troops has been as one in three and a half. The diseases are endemic fevers, diarrhœa, dysentery, and pulmonic complaints. The Sepoys, having less stamina, suffer much more than the English soldiers. Our officers have been as obnoxious to disease as the common men. Robberies were, and we believe still are, of nightly occurrence. "It is very natural," says Dr. Gutzlaff, "that depraved, idle, wicked characters from the adjacent main, should flock to the colony. The islanders themselves, nearly all fishermen, are pirates when the opportunity presents. They are a roving set of beings, floating on the wide face of the ocean with their families, and committing depredations whenever it can be done with impunity. The stone-cutters have been working here for many years before our arrival: the majority of these men are unprincipled; they cannot be considered as domesticated among us, and are in the habit of going and coming according to the state of their trade. The most numerous class who, since our arrival, have fixed themselves on the island, are from Whampoa; many of them are of the very worst character, and are ready to commit any atrocity." Under the very shadow of the British flag these fellows hold their nocturnal clubs and secret societies. The members of these societies bind themselves to stand by one another, and afford mutual protection. Thus the other Chinese are afraid of denouncing their crimes, or informing against them. The proclamations of the governor seem to have had no effect in dissolving or even checking these anti-social combinations.

It is true that Hong-kong is conveniently near to Canton; but since the opening of Amoy, Ningpo, and the other ports, Canton ought not to be considered as the emporium. It is not a place of production, it is not so much as a near shipping-place; the teas, the silks, and all the commodities we were accustomed to purchase at Canton (because we were not then allowed to purchase elsewhere), are all brought, at a very heavy expense of carriage, from great distances. Nor is Canton in any way the best avenue through which to introduce Christian conversion or European civilisation; for the population is perverse, presumptuous, turbulent, and altogether the most indocile and the worst people in China.

Now let us look at CHUSAN. This beautiful island was twice taken by our arms. It was reduced with the greatest ease in July 1840. In February 1841, when Captain Eliot was thoroughly duped by the Chinese negociators on the Pehio river, it was most absurdly evacuated. In October of the same year (1841) it was recaptured, causing this time a great deal of trouble to us, and a considerable loss of life to the Chinese. We continued in possession at the peace, and were so to remain until the city of Canton was thrown quite open to us, which it never has been. Yet, in 1845, when various conditions of the treaty remained unfulfilled, and when we had a presentment to make of numerous grievances, and when the people of the island had become attached to us, we withdrew our troops and gave up possession to the mandarins.

Chusan, distant about forty miles from Ningpo, is about twenty-three miles long and from seven to eleven miles broad; its circumference is about 150 miles. If Hong-kong has one good harbour, Chusan has half-a-dozen good harbours. It is a beautiful, undulating country, the hills not rising above 600 feet, except at the eastern extremity, where one peak attains to the height of 1100 feet above the sea. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and the whole island cultivated like a garden. The native population is about 250,000, and uncommonly healthy, cheerful, and vigorous. Moreover, they are well clothed, well fed and housed, ready to catch at any improvement, and most industrious and honest. They are, indeed, represented by several of our officers and travellers as the most moral people to be found in the extreme East. During five years after our occupation, not a single homicide was committed on the island; the police for the whole island does not cost 100 dollars a month, and the amount of property stolen and not restored does not amount to 150 dollars a-year. Captain Bamfield states that he does not know of any other part of the world where there is so little crime in proportion to the population. The petty offences that take place are said to be committed by strangers, who come over from the continent of China. Except at our first capture, when our troops (without any visible necessity) were encamped in wet rice-fields, and when they were supplied with salted, half-putrid provisions, our troops were uncommonly healthy during their stay at Chusan, the mortality not exceeding three in a hundred. The supply of food, in flesh, poultry, game, and fish, is most abundant, and generally of excellent quality. Japan, with all its immense natural resources, which must be opened to Europe and America a little sooner or a little later, is within three days' easy sail of Chusan, and the island used formerly to be the great *entrepôt* of the Japanese trade with the Chinese. At so very short a distance, Chusan may be said to give the hand to Ningpo and Hang-choo-foo; and those places offer advantages to our trade which Canton does not, while the population is far more docile, moral, and friendly, than the dwellers on the Canton river. This is the best avenue through which we may hope to introduce our civilisation, and gradually infuse our faith; and here, at Ningpo, that very remarkable and often-mentioned English female missionary, Miss Aldersey, has bought a house and established herself, commencing the work of conversion with Chinese ladies, mothers of families, and little children. There are other striking contrasts between Chusan and Hong-kong; yet the first of these islands has been given up, and the second has been retained as a charnel-house for our troops, our seamen, and half our traders who venture to settle upon it. The Chinese government and the local mandarins have attempted to keep foreigners within the limits of the few townships where trade was opened by our treaty of peace; but, judging by what has already been done, it may be assumed that access into the interior will be found more easy through Ningpo than through any other place in the empire. At least, in this last respect, any place seems to be better than Canton. If we persist in trading so much at that city, and in retaining possession of Hong-kong, a source of perpetual quarrels—another war, will not long be evitable.

One very visible effect of the English war upon the Emperor Taou-kwâng was his return to idolatry. Formerly he had professed to be a strict Confucian, and to hold in contempt all manner of graven images and exotic gods. But now the idols in the empire were not sufficiently numerous for him, and new ones were imported and old ones brought again to light from the obscurity and neglect into which they had been allowed to fall. He prostrated himself and burned his perfumed joss-sticks before these uncouth images, feeling that if he had done so before his hosts would not have been beaten by the unbelieving barbarians. This morbid state of mind was rendered still worse by the occurrence of a scarcity, which in many parts of the empire amounted to famine, and by the void presented in the imperial treasury, which had been emptied by the war and the money paid for the peace.

The emperor brought in still more idols, and burned incense, gilded paper, and joss-sticks without end. Yet, in the latter part of this reign, at the instigation of M. Lagrene, an ambassador from the court of France, imperial edicts were procured, tolerating Christianity, and revoking all the preceding edicts for its suppresssion and persecution. In a mandate dated 1845, the French, and all those who followed the same religion, were to enjoy the liberty of erecting churches that all the five ports opened to foreign trade; and we have been assured that by a subsequent mandate, procured from government by the same French ambassador, Christianity was to be tolerated throughout the empire.

Taou-kwâng changed his chief ministers, but he could not find one with power and means to remedy the evils. We need not say that the philosopher's stone, for which so many of his predecessors on the throne had eagerly sought, eluded his search. He sent out circulars to all the governing mandarins in the provinces, calling upon them for a correct statement of their debts and annual revenues, and he asked his grand council what was to be done to avert a general bankruptcy? Many of the poor people gave their lands and huts because they could not pay the taxes, many emigrated to foreign countries, and others turned robbers on land, or pirates at sea and on the great rivers. The last class became so exceedingly numerous and so daring, that even European ships were not always safe; and it took our men-of-war on the station considerable time and an infinitude of trouble to abate the evil. But for the British squadron these pirates would have become far more formidable than the association in the preceding reign, and would, in all probability, have at least dismembered the empire; for they had with them the hearts of all the common people in the maritime provinces, who regarded them not as robbers but as patriots, and they were supported by many members of the Triad Society. The emperor ordered that a fleet should be built, and even that steam-vessels, like those used with so much effect by the English, should be constructed. The Chinese workmen made a steamer, in all outward appearances very like our own; it had its funnel and its paddle-wheels, but to make a steam-engine was quite beyond their power. They also constructed a few ships on the European model; but these were weak and badly manned, and they remained quietly at anchor under the protection of the Bogue Forts while the pirates were ravaging the coasts.

If our negociators had neglected many important points (as that of religious liberty in China), and had not concluded the best treaty which might have been made, they had neither done nor intended anything in an illiberal, exclusive spirit. The ports opened to us were to be opened in like manner to the Americans of the United States, to the Dutch, to the Belgians, to the Spaniards, and Portuguese, and to all other European nations who might be disposed to take a part in that commerce. The announcement of our treaty of Nanking caused considerable sensation among commercial circles, both in Europe and in America. The governments of Belgium, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and even Prussia, deputed agents to confer with the Chinese authorities at Canton, to examine into the prospects of trade, and, if possible, to make commercial arrangements in the country. Going farther than this, the United States sent out an ambassador, or minister extraordinary, to the court of Peking, with a letter from the president to the emperor. After a long preamble, in which the Chinese style was rather successfully imitated, the president (John Tyler) introduced his envoy "Caleb Cushing, one of the wise and learned men of *this country*," who was to regulate trade and intercommunication in such wise as to be beneficial to both nations, and offensive to the laws and customs of neither. Mr. Cushing and his suite arrived in China in the "Brandywine" frigate, in February 1844, and took up their residence at Macao. They were very solemnly and very positively told, that they could on no account be allowed to proceed to Peking, as the United States of America had never yet sent *tribute* to the emperor, and could not therefore be included among the tributary states of the empire. This impertinence merely meant, that the Americans had not previously sent out any ambassador or minister. Although his negociations were impeded by a riot and a scuffle, in which an American killed a Chinaman, Mr. Cushing succeeded in concluding commercial arrangements with the viceroy and his mandarins. The treaty of Wang-hi, as it is called, was ratified by the president and senate of the United States, and, with the knowledge that that gentleman would not be allowed to go to Peking, they sent Mr. A. H. Everett to China as resident minister.

As matters became somewhat more tranquil, the emperor, in 1846, made a pilgrimage to the tombs of his ancestors; whence, however, he soon returned. He now fell more deeply than ever into his idolatrous superstitions; he went still more frequently to the temples, worshipping especially the black dragon. He had always been parsimonious, and he was now comparatively poor, but he made great presents to the lamas, bonzes, and all manner of priests, pilgrims, and impostors. He was seldom to be seen without some of these in company.

The war had caused great confusion and distress, without producing any considerable diminution of the population, which clearly pressed too closely on the means of subsistence. Though contrary to the old laws, the government winked at the emigration, which was going on at an increased ratio; yet the year 1846 brought a recurrence of scarcity and financial embarrassment. The servants of government, receiving no pay, were left to shift for themselves; and in so doing they had recourse to the most oppressive means of extortion, by which the poor people were frequently driven into open rebellion. Great bands of robbers traversed the country with impunity, for many of the troops sent against them joined their ranks, and the rest of the imperial forces were either too weak or too spiritless to attack them. At the same time the pirates re-appeared all along the coast. In 1847 there was a very strong rising in several of the dependent states; the city of Cashgar and another place of importance were stormed and taken, and the whole of the imperial Mantchu army was put to the route. Instead of sending more troops, the emperor sent commissioners, money, badges of distinction, and embroidered satin dresses, to the chiefs of the insurgents, and a peace was bought from those barbarians beyond the Walls. Hereupon the Pekin Gazette published a splendid account of the re-capture of Cashgar, and the glorious victories obtained by the invincible heroes of the Celestial Empire.

Some of the smaller frontier tribes now gave much trouble. The chiefs of Ko-konor, a very independent, unruly race, declared open war against the mandarins, made inroads into the country, committed great ravages, levelled contributions at the point of the sword, returned to their mountains loaded with booty, and left poverty, terror, and despair behind them. Buddhists though they were, these terrible Ko-konor chiefs stopped an envoy of the Grand Lama of Thibet (in their faith a most sacred person), and plundered him as he was on his way to the emperor's court at Peking. A Tartar-Chinese army tardily took the field, and a long and desultory border-war commenced, in which the cattle and other property of the Chinese, and the quieter tribes of Tartars, were plundered to a ruinous extent by the active enemy. These depredations scarcely left horses and camels enough to mount the imperial troops, and carry their provisions and stores. Some of the people, seeing that their own government could afford them no protection, joined the marauders and plundered with them. Commissioner Lin gradually recovered from the disgrace he had incurred for not conquering the English, and being now in favour at court, he was sent to quell this and other rebellions on the borders. His whole course was marked with treachery and atrocious cruelty: he inveigled the people into his power by false promises, and then either butchered them or burned them alive. He retired in triumph, believing that by his address and energy he had quite quelled the insurrection; but some of those tribes took up arms and rallied as soon as he was gone, and he was again and again obliged to return to the scene of action; and, at last, peace or a temporary truce was obtained, not by arms but by money. The holy land of Thibet itself, which the emperor was bound to defend, was overrun by wild clans from the reverses of the Himalaya mountains and from Ladakh; the Grand Lama, believed to be the impersonation of the Divinity, was made to tremble in Lassa, his remote capital, and his lamas or priests, after witnessing the plunder of their temples, were drowned by hundreds in the sacred river Sansoo. Here, again, silver was sent to stop the progress of steel. The imperial exchequer was once more becoming void. The sanguinary deeds perpetrated by Lin made even the Chinese shudder. The relatives of some of those whom he had roasted or otherwise tortured and killed, drew up a strong representation, in which they affirmed that their rising had been forced upon them by the rapacity and tyranny of the mandarins, and that Lin had been to them a monster. A commissioner was appointed to investigate the great man's conduct, but Lin had at court many men who were his friends and allies, and many more who stood in dread of him, and instead of being blamed and punished he was extolled to the skies, and received the peacock's feather as a reward for his distinguished services. At the close of 1849 he was again called to the field, by a formidable insurrection in Kwang-si; but he fell sick and died on his way thither. The emperor almost deified him, under the title of the "Faithful Leader." How the insurrection was put down we are not informed; but, in all probability, the insurgents were bought off for the time, and the country is now in a very turbulent state.

As Taou-kwâng approached his own end, the woes and miseries of the country thickened. In Honan fearful inundations swept away the crops, and deprived a vast population of their subsistence. Many of the sufferers were relieved by death; others dragged out a miserable existence by feeding on roots and wild herbs; everywhere in those districts were wretchedness, disease, death. The Rev. C. Gutzlaff, whose narrative we are chiefly following, says,—"A famine in China, amongst teeming multitudes, is much more fearful than a visitation of the same kind in countries less densely populated, where the people do not, in ordinary times, live up to their means of subsistence." * It is also to be observed, that none of the countries bordering on China—naturally rich and fertile as they are—produce rice enough to be large exporters of it; and that the Chinese government, by discouraging foreign trade and prohibiting importations of nearly all agricultural produce, prevent the arrival of such supplies as might be furnished. In all times the empire has been very liable to the visitations of famine. In the more flourishing periods immense granaries, like those described by Marco Polo, were filled by the emperor, and kept in reserve for the hour of need. This was not the best way of providing against the calamity, but by it large portions of the population were saved from starvation. We are informed, that the emperor still pays for large annual supplies of rice, but that, instead of being lodged

---

* "Life of Taou-kwâng."

in the public granaries, it is consumed or sold by the insatiable, remorseless mandarins. The year after the devastation of Honan other extensive regions were visited by the same calamities, inundation and then famine, and these parts of the country are said to be still in a most forlorn and hapless condition.

Dr. Gutzlaff remarks, "Of the 'plenty' commonly thought to abound in China, we will only say, that nowhere else have we seen so much want as here, though we do not charge upon the government the entire amount of the prevailing misery. The patriarchal institutions now exist only on paper. Instead of being a father, the imperial government is a tyrant and an inquisitor. To talk of the constant peace of an empire where rebellion is continually breaking out, is denying facts to establish a theory." The same pious and experienced missionary seems really to be of opinion, that the mass of the people are as bad, and vicious, and depraved, as their government. After a long acquaintance with them, he affirms that Du Halde and the other Jesuit writers drew far too favourable a picture of the nation, or, at least, a picture which no longer bears a resemblance,—that the Chinese, with some amiable qualities, have vices which are as glaring as they are repulsive; that their manners cannot possibly be deteriorated by any foreign intercourse; that their morals are not good in theory, and bad in practice.

After the treaty of peace concluded by the English at Nanking, the Portuguese of Macao had been enabled to settle an agreement with the Chinese government, by which various new privileges were secured to them. A new and spirited Portuguese governor of Macao, M. Amaral, ashamed of the galling, humiliating vassalage, in which his countrymen had been so long held by a set of effeminate and cowardly troops, attempted to make a few changes, but he does not appear to have exceeded the letter or spirit of the recent agreement. The high Chinese authorities at Canton were, however, greatly incensed. The spirited governor was therefore proscribed, and held up for assassination. Placards, ostensibly issued by the people, but in reality proceeding from the instigation of the satellites of the Canton mandarins, inflamed the populace with fury against him. One day, when riding out, accompanied by only one officer, he was attacked unawares by some ruffians who lay in ambush near the barrier, dragged from his horse, and savagely butchered. His head and one hand (the other hand had been honourably lost in battle) were cut off, to be carried as trophies to Canton; and then the murderers rendered thanks to their idols for the success of their bloody plot. Sen, the governor-general of the province, wrote to the emperor that the barbarian's crimes merited public punishment of the most fearful kind, but that it had pleased the gods to interfere and make an example of him, by allowing his sudden death at the hands of some men who had to avenge their own private injuries. But, to throw dust in the eyes of the Portuguese government, the same great mandarin Sen, took a common criminal out of prison, cut off his head, as if he had been the murderer, and sent the head to Macao with that of the unfortunate governor. The Rev. C. Gutzlaff assures us, that there could be no doubt that the Chinese dignitaries had managed the assassination, but that it was not found possible to bring it home to them by direct proofs. About the same time some ruffians, who had murdered two British officers, were rewarded with the rank of mandarins, and were employed, as men of action and energy, in quelling an insurrection.

As the year 1849 was approaching, when, according to treaty, the city gates of Canton were to be thrown open to foreigners, there was another fearful hubbub, with menaces and actual acts of violence. Set on by Sen the governor-general, the populace vowed that the barbarians should not go at large within their walls, and they addressed a petition to the emperor, insisting that they had the right of settling this matter themselves. They then threw up barricades, as if they had been red republicans at Paris, adopted other measures to repel the barbarians, and threatened to set fire to the factories. It is believed that these deeds were very unpalatable to Taou-kwâng, who feared that they might bring upon him another war with the English and cause another vacuum in his treasury; but the poor potentate, who saw discontent or open insurrection and rebellion all around him, was weak enough to yield to the Canton rabble, and to write back that "the will of the people was the will of Heaven!" "From that moment," adds Mr. Gutzlaff, "the populace considered themselves supreme; they paraded the streets armed, and committed outrages to show that they were a sovereign people." Thus soon had they forgotten the lesson taught them by our troops when they held the heights above Canton, and might, with infinite ease, have destroyed their city and killed them in heaps. In other parts of the empire, and especially in districts not cursed by the presence of high officials, the people were found happy at the change in trade brought about by the war and the treaty of peace, and they were communicative, friendly, and courteous to the English, and to all other foreign visitors ; but the denizens of Canton remain to this day a capricious, insolent, and violent rabble, always ready to avail themselves of any opportunity for mischief.

Battered by all these storms and tempests, and sorely wounded in his pride, the health and strength of Taou-kwâng rapidly gave way. He was never himself after paying away all that money to the English. Probably the decline and death of a good many of his predecessors closely resembled his own ; but of these we have no very good account, while we have very curious and characteristic details of Taou-kwâng's last days, written by the good missionary Gutzlaff, who evidently derived his information from persons near the court or from other native authorities.

The emperor grew suddenly old and infirm, and those who saw him began to predict, in secret, that he would not last long. It is a crime, for which capital punishment is awarded in China, even to allude to the probability of the emperor's death ; and many had suffered death on that account, or on the accusation that they had used magical arts to ascertain when the sovereign would cease to live. All about the court were silent and circumspect, but Taou-kwâng read or suspected their secret thoughts. Accordingly, he took the resolution of always appearing hale, strong, and active when in the presence of his courtiers. In order to keep up this melancholy farce, he set out in the spring to visit the tombs of his ancestors beyond the Great Wall. Most of the men who knew the state of his health were quite sure that he would never come back alive ; but he not only returned, but appeared to be improved by the journey. His haggard looks, however, soon returned also ; and even in the palace the rumour gained ground that he would very soon leave this world. Yet, whenever a whisper to this effect reached his ear, he would suddenly appear in public, dressed in gorgeous robes, and would exert himself to the utmost in the hope of making people believe that he was full of health and vigour. He reviewed his body-guard, he superintended the practice of his bowmen, and distributed the prizes with his own hands; he received the annual caravan of young girls, sent from all parts of the empire for him to choose among them some new inmates for his harem; and he entertained at dinner all the greatest of the great men, with whom he conversed with uncommon freedom and volubility. All his guests declared that they had never seen him look better and stronger. This more than paid him for his dinner and his condescension. But again his lugubrious aspect returned, and the palace whispers were renewed. To dissipate these he determined to make another pilgrimage and long journey. But before he could start, an event occurred which plunged him in deep grief.

In Europe we adopt children, in China the young often adopt old people and call them parents, or fathers and mothers, by adoption. Taou-kwáng, on ascending the throne, had adopted as mother a widowed princess of the imperial lineage, and this lady he continued to respect, to love, and almost to idolise. His devoted unvarying affection to her is the best trait in his character, and the pleasantest part of his whole history. The old lady fell sick; he attended on her in person, as he had always done on the like occasions, for the long space of twenty-nine years. On the 19th of January the lady took an airing in the garden, and he rejoiced in the belief that she was convalescent; but only five days after her walk "she mounted the fairy chariot, and went the long journey."

The emperor himself drew up the official account of her death and his own great grief. "We have been happy," said the paper, "in attending to her behests, as men are rejoiced by the sun which prolongs their lives; but we shall never see her again, we can never more look upon her affectionate countenance, and we are inconsolable! We received her last orders that mourning should be worn only twenty-seven days; but we cannot be satisfied with this, and therefore, as is right, we ourselves shall put on the filial garb for a hundred days, twenty-seven of which we shall pass in deep mourning. As she required that, since we are nearly seventy years old, we should not give way to deep grief, for the cares of government are heavy, we cannot presume to disobey her, and must endeavour to repress our feelings. Let daily libations be poured out before her in the palace of Contentment. We shall ourselves remain at the palace where her bier is placed, to sacrifice to her manes." Divine honours were rendered to the old lady throughout the whole empire; and in every city of the empire tablets were erected to commemorate her superhuman virtues. Such is part of the idol-worship of the Chinese; one generation deifies the other.

Taou-kwâng passed the twenty-seven days near the coffin, dressed in sackcloth, eating nothing but rice, drinking nothing but water, and sleeping near the remains of the dead on a very hard couch. This seems to have finished the poor old emperor, who died at the end of March or early in April, 1851, after a reign of thirty years. For some time his death was kept secret, nor does the precise date appear to be as yet known beyond the precincts of the palace. He was succeeded by Yih-Choo, his fourth son, who took the name of Hien-Fung (meaning "Universal Plenty"), and who is now reigning. He is said to have been named as his successor by the dying emperor; but this is, at the least, doubtful. The great mandarins at Peking were united in his favour, and this was quite enough to place him on the throne. He is described as being sedate, pensive, fond of pageantry and pomp, and exceedingly superstitious, constantly repairing to the temples, consulting the idols, sacrificing in person, and never undertaking anything of importance without obtaining encouragement from some image or other, or from the priests that perform their juggles in the temples. Dr. Gutzlaff says,—"Most of his companions are Mantchus, men well known for their obstinate dispositions and violent passions. Still his government is not yet formed, and it would be proper to wait the further developement. All parties are agreed that he possesses little understanding, and that he is rather a child of circumstances than of forethought." This is not the sovereign to reign long over such myriads of people, or to restore union, cohesion, and strength to an empire which betrays so many fatal symptoms of disunion, antipathy, disseverance, and dissolution. But even under a greater ruler, and without the pressure of Europe and America, this vast and most ancient empire would, in all probability, speedily fall to pieces of itself. It exhibits now all the diseases of an expiring state, —embarrassed finances, decline of credit and commercial faith, universal corruption in the offices of government, lack of all the military virtues, revolted dependencies, internal dissensions, frequent and sanguinary civil war, hatred or contempt of the ruled to those who misrule them, and secret political societies, for ever plotting and augmenting their numbers. Other nations have been kept together by a common religion, and some (like the Arabian) have started into a new life at the touch of a prophet and warrior, or on the sudden infusion of a new and enthusiastic creed; but the Chinese are, in a most remarkable degree, unimpressionable to religion and incapable of enthusiasm; their conflicting idolatries hang loosely on them as individuals, and can never bind them together as a nation. Nearly every Eastern mail brings intelligence of some catastrophe or disaster; every month seems to witness the increase of robbers on land and of pirates at sea; one half of the Empire, embracing all the southern provinces, is the scene of civil war, or is, at least, in open revolt; the troops of government have been recently defeated within a few leagues of Canton; and two, if not more, chiefs and leaders of the insurgents have adopted the style and title of emperors.

THE
INDU-CHINESE NATIONS.

ANAM OR COCHIN-CHINA, SIAM, BURMAH, ETC.

ALL the seaward countries which lie between China and our possessions in Hindustan are, to a great degree, followers and imitators of the Chinese, and have been for ages quite as exclusive and averse to friendly communications with Europeans as the subjects of the "Middle Kingdom" or "Celestial Empire." But they must now inevitably follow the example of their great neighbour, or submit to the same conditions which have been imposed upon China. In the present state of the world—with the want of room or of new emporiums and markets felt in Europe, and with the determined energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race in America—no country on the face of the globe will long be allowed to segregate itself from the rest of mankind, to close its ports and deny its trade to all foreign ships, to make prisoners and to cruelly maltreat such white men as shipwreck or other calamity may throw upon their coasts, or to hermetically seal the interior of their land, and prohibit the exportation of all its produce, and even of commodities which are at present utterly useless to the natives. None of these Oriental races are capable either of well-governing themselves or of resisting Europeans; no, not even when the proportion of the force employed against them may be as one to one thousand. We will not pause to discuss the question of right and morality, which to us appears of easy solution; the very instinct of the nations of the West impels them to the East; old Europe must have room and trade or dominion, and, having strength on her side, she will find and secure them all. She cannot but carry a portion of her civilisation with her, and this will lead to the overthrow of some of the most monstrous systems of idolatry that have ever duped and disgraced mankind. It will require a very morbid or perverse sensibility to mourn over the subversion of any dynasty, royalty, or government, that now exists in that enormous space on the globe which intervenes between the borders of Kamschatka and the frontiers of Bengal. Each of these governments has been successively and repeatedly solicited for trade and a friendly intercourse, and all have returned an insolent, stern, and arrogant denial. They have occasionally yielded to force, but never to friendly, unsupported negociation, or with their own good will. This arrogance of weak, corrupt, pusillanimous semi-barbarians, is no longer to be tolerated. They have been invited to enter into the family of nations, and to take their share in the benefits of the law of nations. They have refused, and have therefore no claim on those benefits. They have obstinately kept themselves out of the pale of international law, and cannot appeal to it for protection.

It is now many years since the illustrious Humboldt said that the only bulwark to the effeminate nations of the extreme East was the Isthmus of Darien or Panama, and that so soon as the said Isthmus was opened by canals or by easy roads, those nations must fall prostrate before Europeans and Anglo-Americans. The barrier may already be said to be broken; and soon, by the union of canals and railways, the Atlantic will be joined with the Pacific. But the discovery of gold in California has anticipated some of the effects of the opening of the Isthmus, and the vast and commodious harbour or bay of San Francisco has already become an emporium for eastern commerce, and an advanced post or beacon, whence many thousands of fearless, restless men, look across the ocean towards the rich regions of the Orient, with a thorough foreknowledge of the insolency and helplessness of those peoples and governments. From the bay of San Francisco to China, or Cochin-China, is but an easy steam-voyage of twenty days. The establishment of a line of steamers on the Pacific would place even the city of New York on the Atlantic within less than sixty days of Macao on the Canton river.

The United States Government have just sent a formidable expedition to Japan, with the view of breaking up the exclusiveness and the anti-social prejudices of that country; and assuredly the Americans, recruited by enterprising emigrants from all parts of old Europe, will not stop there. Some farther lesson will be given to China, and strenuous efforts will be made to open the ports and the trade of the neighbouring countries.

France has her eye upon Anam and Siam, where, at one time, she possessed very considerable influence; and although our English war in Ava (which country borders on Siam) appears to be conducted in a languid and indecisive manner, it must end in subjecting the Burmese to our will, and in opening their ports and that great channel of trade, the Irrawaddi river, to the shipping and merchandise of Europe and America.

These and other immediate considerations give great importance to the subject of the Indu-Chinese nations, and to all that materially concerns them. The elements of size and extent of coast are not wanting to make up the real importance of these lands. Including the states subjected at a recent date, and by conquest, to Cochin-China, the coast line from the north-western extremity of that kingdom to the British possessions in Arracan does not measure much less than 3000 English miles. The population dwelling within this immense sea-board has been variously calculated from 30,000,000 to 70,000,000. It appears to be well established, that the population of Cochin-China alone (including its dependencies) exceeds 10,000,000, and that these people are in possession of gold and silver, rich natural produce, and other commodities of trade. As will be seen presently, the people, or rather the government of these populous regions, entertain precisely the same prejudices as the Chinese government and its mandarins. In some respects, they may be said to be even more Chinese than the Chinese themselves.

A striking affinity is observed between the races of men which inhabit all these wide regions between China and Bengal. The Cochin-Chinese or Anam nation, however, stands rather apart; for its vicinity and frequent subjugation to China has stamped upon it, to a very great degree, the type of the Chinese character. The most civilised and leading nations within this wide range are the Siamese, Peguans, and Burmans or Burmese. Next to them come the people of Kamboja, Lao, and Arracan. Those of Cassay, Champa, and Cachar, constitute a third order; and then follow numbers of petty races, in a savage or more than half-savage state. The dialects spoken by these nations bear to each other a common resemblance in structure and in idiom. The foreign tongues, of which words are found most extensively intermixed with their dialects, are the Sanscrit, or rather Pali, and the dialect of the Chinese province of Canton.

Mr. John Crawfurd, the best authority that can be consulted, says:—"In treating of the principal nations now referred to, an important and interesting fact will soon present itself, namely, the striking accordance which they offer in all essential points amongst themselves, and their no less obvious dissimilitude to all other Asiatic races. They possess the same physical configuration; their languages radically agree in structure and idiom; and their manners, habits, and usages are alike. This parallel, without any violence, may be extended to such matters as are little better than arbitrary or accidental. Thus, one general form of religion, with scarcely a shade of difference, pervades all those that are civilised; they have the same literature, the same laws, and the same civil and political institutions. It may farther be observed, that the history and revolutions of this group of nations have been confined to themselves; that their social state has been very little influenced by strangers; and that, judging from the evidence of language and the absence of historical monuments to prove otherwise, they appear never to have been subjected to foreign conquest,—an immunity, if it be one, which they owe to the strong natural barriers which have arrested the tide of conquest, as well as civilisation, to the east, the west, and the north. The great geographical distance, and the trackless and impenetrable wildernesses which divide them from Tartary, have secured them from being overrun and subjugated by the invasions of the nomadic tribes of the north. It is to similar causes they owe their independence of the Chinese. The only external agencies which seem to have made any lasting impression upon them are religion and commerce, but especially the former. While secure however, from *foreign aggression*, their own history, from all that is known of it to Europeans, has presented a constant scene of *fierce internal warfare, and of alternations of conquest and subjection;* in the course of which the three most numerous and civilised tribes have taken the lead, namely, the Burmans, Peguans, and Siamese: while the secondary nations, such as those of Arracan, Lao, and Kamboja, with the less civilised tribes, have stood neuter when permitted, or followed the fortunes of the temporary victor."*

ANAM OR COCHIN-CHINA.

THE proper designation of this extensive region is Anam, and that of the people Anamese or Anamans. The name Cochin-China, or any name at all like it, is altogether unknown in the country, or in any of the neighbouring states. It appears to have been bestowed by the French, who have not usually been very accurate or happy in their designations of foreign places and countries.

The present empire of Anam consists of a large portion of the ancient kingdom of Kamboja, of Anam Proper, and of Tonquin. The Anamese now give the name of Anam to the whole empire, conquests included. On the west it touches upon Siam, part of Kamboja which does not belong to it, and Lao; on the north it touches on the Chinese provinces of Quang-tong, Quang-si, and Yun-nan: in all other directions it is surrounded by the sea, thus having an immense coast and very numerous harbours. The extreme length of the whole kingdom has been estimated at nearly 1000 English miles. The breadth is very unequal, varying only from 60 to 180. Anam may thus be called a very long, narrow slip. But its area has been taken in round numbers at 98,000 square miles. The two extremities of the kingdom, Tonquin on the north and Kamboja on the south, consist for the greater part of low alluvial tracts, little elevated above the level of the sea; but the central part, or Anam Proper, is generally mountainous, with valleys here and there of considerable extent and fertility.

---

* "Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China; exhibiting a view of the actual state of those kingdoms." Second Edition. London, 1830.

The empire is divided into three great civil divisions, which correspond pretty exactly with the geographical and physical divisions. These consist of Kamboja and Tonquin, which are administered by viceroys; and Anam Proper, which is administered directly by the king and the court resident at Hué, the capital of the whole empire. The country is subdivided into provinces, amounting in all to twenty-two. Besides being indented by numerous bays and convenient harbours, the country is intersected by many large or considerable rivers, which, for the most part, appear to be navigable for many miles into the interior and most productive districts. The drawback is stated to be the rather frequent occurrence of sand-banks near the mouths of these streams, which inconvenience or impede the passage of European vessels above 200 tons. Although the coasts have as yet been imperfectly surveyed, it appears that the navigator can hardly make for any point without finding a sheltering island, a haven, or a river. The river of Kamboja is one of the largest in all Asia. It is said to have its origin in a great lake within the Chinese province of Yun-nan, and to be navigable, for boats, to an immense distance. It falls into the sea by three mouths, between the ninth and eleventh degrees of north latitude. The river of Kang-Kao, which falls into the Gulf of Siam, in 10° 14′ north latitude, has been connected of late years with the Kamboja river by means of a

Deputy-Governor of Kamboja.

navigable canal, twenty fathoms broad and fifteen deep. To traverse this canal from river to river occupies the native boatmen three days and three nights. Numerous villages and townships, and a few old and considerable cities, lie near to the canal, or to the banks of the two rivers, and to all these the access by water is said to be easy and perfectly safe. Towards the beginning of the last century a considerable foreign trade was carried on at one of these towns, called by the Europeans Ponteamus. The proper name of the place is Po-tai-Mat: the town has been of no consequence since 1717, when it was destroyed by the Siamese, in one of their attempts to conquer the country. The river of Tek-mao (Black Water), which also communicates with the great river of Kamboja, can be navigated through its whole course by small boats. At about two days' sail up this stream there is a considerable town of the same name, well situated for trade. Like all the rivers, the Tek-mao abounds in excellent fish: the country near it is most fruitful in rice, but much infested by mosquitoes. Few regions on the earth offer so many conveniences in the way of water-carriage. But the Saigun, on which the old and important city of Saigun is situated, is considered in all respects, for European navigation, the finest river in Asia, as it can be navigated by vessels of any burden, and without a pilot, for sixty miles up, and as at the old city large vessels may lie close alongside the quays, and discharge or take in cargo with the greatest ease. It is connected, at least by two of its branches, with one of the embouchures of the great Kamboja river. The source of the Saigun is unknown to Europeans, but Mr. Crawfurd was told by some of the natives that it was navigable in their light craft for good twenty days' voyage above the old city of Saigun, which is itself about fifty miles from the sea. It is therefore probable that it has a course of more than 300 miles, and there is no doubt that it originates somewhere in the mountains of Lao.

The river of Hué, which affords easy access to the present capital, called by the same name, is fitted only for ships of a small draught of water; and though broad, and joined near its mouth by many tributary streams, it does not appear to have a long course. But near the mouth of this stream is the harbour of Turon, famed in the early history of the Portuguese and Dutch settlers and explorers in the East, and subsequently much frequented by European ships of other flags. Turon is the finest harbour in the world, being very spacious, completely land-locked, and almost entirely surrounded by mountains. Being at peace with one another, the navies of all the western world might lie here in safety and tranquillity. The mouth of the harbour might be so fortified by European skill as to be rendered impassable; and as the neighbouring country is pleasant, healthy, and productive, this would be a favourable point at which to make a settlement, in order to bring the native government to reasonable conditions, and open the way to a profitable trade. The water of the Hué river, like that of the Saigun, is remarkably clear and transparent, considering that its course lies through tracts of alluvial soil. All the way from the sea up to the capital, the country on either of its banks is carefully cultivated, and the produce in rice alone is said to be prodigious.

The government of Anam Proper is divided into seven provinces. The first of these (beginning from the south) is Binthuon, lying next to the government of Saigun, or Kamboja. It is small and mountainous, but remarkable for the production of a vast quantity of the precious wood of aloes. The next to it is the province of Nha-Trang, which is also described as mountainous and ill-cultivated; but it contains the two magnificent harbours of Nha-Trang and Camraigne, from the former of which the principal town, of the same name, is distant but a few leagues, and connected by a river. This town of Nha-Trang being so accessible, was fortified in the European manner at the close of the last century by a Frenchman in the king's service. It is the seat of a royal arsenal, and being very conveniently placed, is the centre of all the commercial transactions of this part of the empire. As, at the same time, it is not far from the capital, this is another favourable point for making an impression, and breaking the bonds by which the people are prevented from trading with foreigners. Mountainous and poor as this province is represented, it is said that it produces and manufactures silk.

The province of Phu-Yen is the richest in Anam, and its port, bearing the same name, is another of the very finest in the East, comprising three distinct and commodious harbours. The surrounding country is thickly peopled and highly cultivated throughout, the "terrace cultivation" of rice being (as in many parts of China) pushed almost to the summits of the hills. The province of Qui-Nhon is extensive, populous, and highly cultivated. Its principal town, of the same name, is only about fifteen miles from the seaboard, and connected with it by a navigable river. In the same way, nearly all the principal towns are to be approached by water. The disposable boats of a small English, American, or French squadron, would capture the strongest of them in a few hours. This town of Qui-Nhon, once the seat of a considerable foreign trade, was greatly injured during the savage civil war which raged in the early part of the present century. It has now some fortifications after the European manner. The next province is Quang-ai, a mountainous region, producing, however, a considerable quantity of sugar. It is much exposed to the incursions of a wild race, who occupy the mountains to the west of it. The province of Quang-Nau is very extensive, and rich in rice, sugar, cinnamon, and other productions. The last province of this government is Hué, which produces sugar and rice, but is not remarkable for its fertility. The capital of the same name (Hué) is distant not more than nine miles from the sea. It is described as a long straggling town, of very little breadth, and extending, (the fortress included), full four miles along the left bank of the river. In former days the place was perfectly well known, as well to traders as to missionaries from Europe, and numerous accounts of it are to be found in French books of the time of Louis XIV.

The government or vice-royalty of Tonquin is considered as by far the most populous and valuable portion of the Anamese empire; but, unfortunately, it has been but rarely and imperfectly visited since the days of the Jesuits, when it formed an independent kingdom. Here, again, are more convenient sea-ports and more navigable rivers. The chief of these, called the river of Tonquin, has its source in the mountainous Chinese province of Yun-nan, and its embouchure on the Gulf of Tonquin. At its mouth it is a mile wide; at eighty miles from the sea it is broader than the Thames at Gravesend; and at the old capital of the country, twenty miles higher up, it is as broad as the Thames at

Lambeth. Vessels of two hundred tons have passed the bar at its mouth. But, properly speaking, the river has two mouths, and through one of these it is believed that the largest ships may pass. In nearly all these rivers the difficulty is over when once you have crossed the sand-banks; for beyond those impediments the water deepens, and the river almost invariably expands and flows between sharp and well-defined banks. On the river Tonquin, at the distance of one hundred miles from the sea, stands the old capital of Tonquin, the largest city in the whole empire, with a population of about 150,000. The city is frequently called Ke-Cho (written by us, Cachao), but often by the natives it is named Bak-than. This old kingdom appears to be rich in almost every possible variety of production, and its people, though they have lost their independence and are cruelly oppressed by their conquerors, are described as being a more amiable, lively, and intelligent set of beings than the Anamese.

Kamboja (frequently written Cambodia), or that portion of it which belongs to Anam, is a fertile champaign country. The only two cities of importance which it now contains are Pe-nom-peng, the present capital, and Pon-tai-pret, the ancient one, the place formerly known to Europeans under the name of "The City of Kamboja." To both these places access is had by river navigation. The present capital is believed to contain about 30,000 inhabitants. A little to the north-east of it are two extensive fresh-water lakes. The Kambojans, like the people of Tonquin, bear no affection to their conquerors. In short, Anam, like China, is fraught with the elements of disseverance and dissolution. A shake would make it fall to pieces. With arms in their hands, and with only a tolerable prospect of support from without, the Kambojans, Tonquinese, and other recently-subjugated nations or tribes, would rise against their oppressors and proclaim their own independence. There were times when Anam was in subjection to Kamboja. In the tenth century Kamboja was a powerful kingdom, and about the end of the twelfth century it conquered Anam. In the latter part of the thirteenth century Kublai Khan, being told that Kamboja was a country of vast resources and wealth, attempted its conquest, but his great army was compelled to retire. The Kambojans, however, promised to pay to China a nominal tribute, which it had been in the habit of paying before the Mongol Tartar conquest of that empire. In the year 1717, the Kambojans being invaded and hard-pressed by the Siamese, called in to their aid the King of Anam, who drove out their enemies, and exacted from them an acknowledgment of his suzerainty. He probably did somewhat more than make the people confess their vassalage, for from this period Kamboja fell into anarchy. About the year 1750 the Anamese seized all the provinces lying upon the Saigun river. In 1786 the King of Kamboja died, and left an infant son as his successor. An officer of the court, who had married the king's daughter, was named regent; and this man, hoping to advance his own interest, carried the infant son and the daughter of the late king to the court of Bang-kok, and placed the kingdom under the protection of Siam. This state of things continued down to the year 1809, when a nephew of the late king formed a strong party, and made himself master of a portion of the kingdom. The regent called in the assistance of the Siamese, and the king's nephew applied to the Anamese. A sanguinary contest was soon decided in favour of the King of Anam, whose army of 30.000 men entered and occupied the Kambojan capital. This foreign rule and state of thraldom still continue, to the extreme impatience and indignation of the people, who have long been ripe for insurrection and revolution.

Stretching along the coast of Anam are numerous and extensive chains of islands, varying in size and in natural fertility: they are, for the most part, thinly peopled or altogether uninhabited; but many of them afford good anchorage, water, wood for fuel, a few vegetables, and abundance of excellent fish,

The strangers settled in the dominions of Anam consist of Malays, a mixed race of Portuguese, who, on rather slight foundation, call themselves Christians, and Chinese. The Malays are confined to the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam; their numbers are thought not to exceed 5000. Of course they have no political influence They retain the Mohammedan religion, and speak their native language, although intermixed with a number of Kamboja and Champa words. More than a century and a half ago our brave old navigator and admirable writer of voyages, William Dampier, said that the shipping of these Malays was the neatest and the most dexterously managed of any shipping in the East, and Mr. Crawfurd assures us that they still maintain this distinction.

The Chinese form by far the most numerous class of strangers. In Tonquin alone they are said to be about 30,000, engaged chiefly in the iron, silver, and gold mines. There is another numerous community on the Saigun river, and another at Fai-fo. Smaller colonies are to be found in other places, but the Chinese are far from being numerous in Hué, the capital. The first settlers are exempt from the military conscription, which presses very heavily on the Anamese; and their descendants have a privilege not granted to the natives, of paying a pecuniary composition in lieu of personal labour and services for government. These descendants, moreover (provided only they be not married), may freely quit the country, which a native is not allowed to do under any pretext. They are far more intelligent and industrious than any other class; but it must be borne in mind that the Anamese and the other races are constantly interrupted in their labour by government *corvées.*

The climate of this very long country is, of course, much varied by latitude, by the disposition of the chains of mountains, by elevation above the sea, and by other physical causes. We do not hear of the jungle-fevers and the other disorders which are endemic in so many parts of India, China, and the islands in the Indian Ocean. Two French gentlemen, who had resided above thirty years in the country, spoke particularly in praise of the climate of Saigun and Hué; and English travellers have concluded, from the sturdy and active frames of the natives, that the climate must be good. The air in the famous port of Turon is described as very salubrious. It is reported that even the low alluvial portions of the country, though laid out for rice cultivation, and very damp, are far from being unhealthy. This appears to be owing to two circumstances,—the beds and banks of the rivers are of clean sand, and the canals cut for irrigation are not stagnant, but run off in currents to the rivers or their tributary streams. Moreover, in these flats there are few or no woods or jungles to retain miasma, and add to its poison by the incessant decomposition of vegetable matter.

Anam Proper is not rich in mines, but Tonquin is remarkably so, abounding in iron, silver, and gold. The iron mines are said to be about six days' journey from Cachao, the capital of Tonquin; and the gold and silver mines about twelve days' journey, in a westerly direction, from the same place. A considerable portion of the gold is smuggled into the neighbouring Chinese provinces. Although the miners are Chinese (not fewer than 30,000 of that nation being engaged in this labour), it is conjectured that the mines are not well worked, and that no efforts have been made of late years to discover and open new ones. From the quantity of the precious metals found in the country, and generally lying in a dormant, useless state, it is concluded that, as nothing of the sort is imported, the supplies of the mines must, at one period or other, have been very abundant.

Rice of excellent quality is cultivated to a prodigious extent, forming the chief food of the inhabitants. Maize or Indian corn is grown in considerable quantities. The areca palm is extensively reared for its nuts. The cocoa-nut is extensively used for food. The best fruits are the orange and lichi. The oranges are larger in size and more excellent in flavour than those produced in China. In some of the provinces the sugar-cane is much cultivated. Though not of the first quality (which is owing merely to careless preparation), sugar is not only sent to China, but also exported to the European settlements in the Straits of Malacca. Black pepper of good quality, fine cardamums, cinnamon, aniseed, are all objects of export. The cotton, which is grown throughout the empire, is of excellent quality, superior to that of Bengal, and is largely exported in Chinese junks. Silk is produced almost everywhere, but its quality is at present inferior to the Chinese. The tea is large in leaf, coarse, and very inferior. Tonquin and the Kamboja provinces afford stick-lac of the finest quality. Eagle-wood, an object of royal monopoly, is brought from the interior, and is extensively used and exported. The Chinese use it not only as an incense, but also as a medicine, imagining it to possess many virtues. The teak-tree, so valuable for its timber, is not found in any part of the country; but in Kamboja there is a timber tree called sao, of very large size, and much in use. The wood, though less buoyant, is said to be little inferior to teak. It is much used in house and ship-building. The gun-carriages of the royal arsenals are also made of it, and it appears to be as durable as it is strong. There are, no doubt, other trees, plants, and vegetables, which have not been described by Europeans.

The quadrupeds of the country are the rhinoceros, the buffalo, the ox, the horse, the elephant, the hog, the spotted leopard, the Bengal tiger, the cat, and several species of deer. The noisy jackal, the fox, the hare, the ass and the sheep, appear to be unknown. They have domesticated the elephant, the horse, the buffalo, the ox, the goat, the hog, the dog, the cat; and, among poultry, the goose, duck, and common fowl. As in China, the flesh of dogs is commonly eaten at table. Cochin-China is among the few places where elephants serve for food. They are considered as a perfect dainty there. When the king, or any of his viceroys in the provinces, has one of these animals slaughtered for his table, pieces of it are distributed about to persons of rank, as gratifying marks of favour. Buffalo is preferred to other beef. The horse is but a small, shabby-looking pony, and is used only for riding. The ground is chiefly tilled by the buffalo. The wild hog is found wherever there is any cover. The poultry is described as the finest to be seen in India, and it is abundant and very cheap. The natives prefer ducks for the table. The cocks are kept for fighting, and the hens appear to be very seldom eaten. This magnificent breed has been recently introduced into England, where, at exhibitions, it has won the prize over all other breeds. It appears, in fact (judging from these specimens), the largest, finest, and most beautiful breed of poultry in the world. As yet they are rarities. A cock was recently sold for the sum of 100*l.*; but they will very soon become cheaper, and enable us generally to improve our own breeds. There wanted some such new stimulus, for, in most parts of England, the poultry-yard has, of late years, been much neglected. The Anamese are quite as much addicted to cock-fighting as are their neighbours in China and Siam. The wild or jungle-fowl is found wherever there is a little wood. The sportsman may be enticed by the accounts of the prodigious numbers of wild ducks, wild geese, and other birds which annually visit the country, in immense flocks, so soon as the cold season sets in. The curious wax-fly and wax-shrub, which we have mentioned as existing in China, are also found in Anam. Indeed it appears to have been in this country, near Turon bay, that the late Sir George Staunton first discovered them. The same excellent traveller says:—"Before the calamities of civil war and foreign invasion, both gold and silver were particularly plentiful. Gold-dust was found in the rivers, and their mines abounded in the richest ore, so pure as to require only the simple action of fire to extract it. Much of it was used in decorations of dress and furniture. The hilts and scabbards of their swords were frequently ornamented with plates of beaten gold. Payments were made in it to foreign merchants in ingots." Both the seas and rivers are well stored with fish, which the natives consume to a great extent, and export (salted) to other countries.

The history of Anam is either a wild fable or a revolting recital of internal war, anarchy, and bloodshed. The Christian religion, in its Roman form, was introduced about the year 1624 by the Portuguese Jesuits from Macao, after the persecution and massacre of the Christians in Japan. Indifferent themselves to any creed or ritual, the kings who have reigned during the present century have neither encouraged nor persecuted Christianity. Counting native converts and the descendants of the Portuguese, there are now said to be about half a million of people who profess to adhere to the Church of Rome; but these nominal Christians are represented as among the poorest and most abject part of the population.

In the year 1778 Mr. Warren Hastings, the Governor-general of India, sent Mr. Chapman on a mission to Anam, with a view of establishing commercial relations. A frightful civil war was then raging. Mr. Chapman gives a horrible picture of the condition to which the country was reduced. In some parts the famine was so great that the people were driven to feed on sea-weeds, and in the market of Hué human flesh was exposed for sale. Later travellers have confirmed this account of cannibalism, as it prevailed at the period. Our envoy was treated with great disrespect, and threatened with assassination. He fled to his little English bark, which lay within the bar of the Hué river. Hostilities commenced between him and some batteries on the shore, and after more than twenty hours of an unequal contest, at the height of the N.E. monsoon, when it was most difficult to get out of the river, he at last succeeded, by a fortunate slant of fair wind, in crossing the bar and effecting his escape. The natives have improved their batteries, guns, and artillery practice since then; but it may be doubted whether the best works they have erected to defend their rivers would stand the repetition of a broadside from one of our smallest ships of war.

The French made a more auspicious beginning a few years after the attempt of Mr. Hastings. A Catholic missionary of the Franciscan order, while exercising his vocations in Anam, became intimately connected with the reigning sovereign, who owed to him his restoration to the throne. The real name of this individual, who is usually styled Bishop of Adran, was George Peter Joseph Pigneaux de Behaim, and he appears to have been a native of Laon in France. He was eminently gifted with talent, courage, and sagacity. It was, in fact, to the skill and courage of this Franciscan friar, and of the very few European adventurers whom he collected round him, that the Anamese monarch was indebted for his internal security, and for the annexations made in Tonquin, Kamboja, etc. In 1787 the king, having confided his eldest son to the bishop's care, authorised him to proceed to France and claim the alliance and assistance of Louis XVI. The bishop and the young prince arrived safely at the court of Versailles, where Louis or his ministers entered warmly into the project. With very little delay a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded. France was to furnish to Anam twenty ships of war, five European regiments, and two Asiatic regiments, and to make an advance of a million of dollars, half in specie and half in warlike stores. On the other side the King of Anam ceded to France the peninsula of Han, the splendid bay of Turon, and the adjacent islands; engaging at the same time to furnish France with 60,000 men, if attacked within her new acquisition, and to permit her to levy 40,000 men *to enable her to carry on her wars in other parts of India.* Favourable terms were, of course, conceded to French commerce. The real results of this treaty were, however (to France), very unimportant. A few French officers accompanied the Bishop of Adran and the young prince when they returned to Anam, in the year 1790. Yet the whole matter is deserving of our serious attention, for what France has attempted once she may try again ; and it is from this side, as is generally thought, that our Indian Empire may be attacked with the best hope of success. Mr. Crawfurd says :—" Had the treaty been carried into effect to the full extent of the views of the French court, it is certain that Cochin-China and the surrounding countries would virtually have become provinces of France in the first instance, and that in the sequel Great Britain would have interfered, and thus have established her influence, if not her dominion, in that remote part of India." The same excellent writer says it was a fortunate accident for the native sovereign that the treaty was not carried into effect. This accident was the breaking out of the great French Revolution (in the very year on which the treaty was concluded at Versailles), the unhappy execution of Louis XVI., and the general war in Europe, which found full occupation for the French army and navy. But for those events the French would certainly have fortified the port of Turon, and have laid the foundations of an Indu-Chinese dominion. With only a few European adventurers, who never exceeded fourteen or fifteen, the King of Anam prevailed over all his enemies and all those whose territories he wished to annex. Some of these adventurers are said to have been Irish, and some English. They included in their number naval officers, military officers, and engineers. Aided by these the king set about forming a navy, disciplining troops, and constructing fortifications after the European manner. Small and faulty as were both navy and army, they gave him a decided superiority over his neighbours. Moreover, in battle, it was enough for some half-dozen of the white officers to show themselves to put a fleet or army to flight. By the year 1802 Tonquin was completely subdued ; and by the year 1809 the most valuable parts of Kamboja were annexed. The French officers were decided Bourbon Royalists ; and, as such, averse to all the revolutionary forms of government which followed the death of Louis XVI. They remained several more years in Anam, and the last of them (three or four very amiable men) did not return to France until 1820. Whatever improvement was introduced into the semi-barbarous country, was introduced and carried out by them ; but the Anamese allowed them no political weight while they were serving them, and showed very little gratitude when they were gone. The views of the king they served were all selfish, narrow, and thoroughly despotic; and the government which he established, and which still endures, is a military despotism of the most oppressive kind. It is this government, and not the people, who hedge themselves in with pride, arrogance, wearisome formalities, restrictions, and prohibitions. The poor people are willing to have free intercourse with Europeans if they could. Out of sight of their mandarins they are affable, cheerful, respectful, and friendly with all white strangers. This king, called Gia-long, died in the year 1819, at the age of sixty-three. His character as a ruler may be sufficiently understood by the following anecdote: Some of the French officers most in his confidence often ventured to recommend to him the encouragement of industry within his own dominions: his constant reply was, that he did not want rich subjects, as poor ones were more obedient. They urged, that in Europe disorders and insurrections were most frequent among the poor and needy classes. To this his only answer was, that the matter was different in his country. Towards the princes and chiefs who had disputed his authority he was merciless. He caused the bodies of such as were dead to be disinterred, decapitated, and otherwise brutally insulted. Their entire families were put to death by being trod upon by elephants, and then their unsightly members were exposed in chains and scattered over the country. Women and children, including babes at the breast, and mothers about to give birth to babes, were not spared in these wholesale and truly Asiatic executions. Gia-long's only legitimate son, the prince who had accompanied the Bishop of Adran to France, died twenty years before his father, at the age of twenty-two, leaving no legitimate issue. He is said to have been a decided convert to the Christian faith, but to have evinced no ability or energy. By the will of Gia-long the crown devolved on an illegitimate son, the late king Meng-Meng, who was about thirty-two years old at the time of Mr. Crawfurd's mission.

During the long interval over which we have rapidly passed, several English vessels ran into Turon bay, or into some of the innumerable ports on the coast, and some efforts were made to cultivate friendly relations with the Anamese government. When Lord Macartney proceeded on his embassy to China (in 1790), he was furnished with letters from his majesty George III. to the King of Anam, and the squadron which carried and escorted our noble ambassador put into Turon bay, "a most desirable place to refresh in." No intercourse could be opened with the jealous court, and although the people were exceedingly civil and obliging, all the movements of the English were narrowly watched, and little came of this visit, except some interesting chapters in the accounts of the embassy, published by the late Sir George Staunton and the late Sir John Barrow. Both these very competent judges spoke very highly of the natural resources of the country, and of the surpassing excellence of Turon as a port.

In the year 1804, when the late Marquis Wellesley was Governor-general of India, another attempt was made to establish an intercourse, and another mission sent to the country. The English were treated with contempt and insolence; they found every place barred against them; they failed completely in the object of their mission, and they left the coast with the most unfavourable impression of the government, its mandarins, and officials of all classes.

Shortly after the settlement of Europe in 1815, the French, under Louis XVIII., attempted to renew their intercourse with Anam, and several of their trading ships visited the country, but with little success. In 1817 another attempt was made, on the part of the Court of France, to induce the King of Anam to act upon the treaty which had been concluded with Louis XVI. in 1787. A mission was dispatched to Hué, and prospects of mutual benefit were held out; but the native prince was no longer in a critical, perilous condition—he felt that he was firmly seated on the throne, he was at peace with his neighbours, and declined a scheme which would have given the French so tenable a footing in the country. Since then, however, French as well as American vessels have occasionally touched upon the coasts, and even visited Turon Bay and the rivers of Saigun and Hué.

In 1821, John Crawfurd, Esq., whom we have so repeatedly quoted, was nominated by the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-general of India, to proceed on a mission to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China, or Anam. On landing at

Hué river, Mr. Crawfurd and the gentlemen with him, though treated with civility and infinite ceremony, were, in effect, made prisoners, the house in which they were lodged being surrounded by troops, and ingress or egress being blocked up by strong bamboo palisades. A very great man, entitled the "Mandarin of Elephants," waited upon them and gave them some provisions, and some wretched money made of zinc. There was a singular mixture of politeness and impertinence, jealousy and respect. All persons on horseback passing the house in which the English were lodged were compelled to dismount; but the officials seemed to take a pleasure in administering the bastinado in presence of their guests. The bamboo was in constant requisition, to the great annoyance of the strangers. They were escorted to dine with the Mandarin of Elephants, and allowed to visit, under similar escort, the town and fortress of Saigun. After many delays and vexations they were allowed a little more liberty, but they never could go far from the capital, or go anywhere without being closely watched. But for two of the French gentlemen who yet remained in the service of his Anamese majesty, their existence would scarcely have been supportable. When they proceeded to business, they found that the king would not grant them audience because their letters were not from the Sovereign of Great Britain, but *only* from the Governor-general of India. As they strongly urged that they ought to see his majesty, they were complacently told that it was very natural they should desire to see so great a monarch, but that it was against all rule, and that others, in situations similar to their own, had been refused all audience or interview. It was in vain Mr. Crawfurd argued that the Governor-general of India was in habits of direct correspondence with the first princes of the East, into whose presence his representatives were always admitted; and it was worse than vain that he stated that he himself, with the gentlemen of his mission, had had an audience of the King of Siam only a few months ago. To the last point the chief minister promptly replied, "What is done in Siam is no rule for this country." Even the presents which the governor-general had sent for the king were declined.

Drafts of different papers were made by the mandarins, and indirect promises were given that English ships should be permitted freely to visit and trade at three ports of the kingdom; namely, Saigun, Han or Turon, with Faifo, and Hué, the capital. With regard to Tonquin they were excessively jealous. The Mandarin of Elephants said the river there was too small for the navigation of English ships. The mission answered, that in former times the English and other European nations had carried on a considerable trade with Tonquin, and that then the river had water enough for ships of large burden. It is rather astonishing that the mandarins did not vow that the river had grown shallow since then, but they did not. On the contrary, they plainly avowed their suspicions and fears. "Tonquin," said they, "is a recent conquest, and for this reason it is not deemed convenient to encourage the resort of strangers to it. Our great king is resolved not to permit foreign trade, at present, in Tonquin."

A tariff and arrangements for the three ports at which we were to be allowed to trade were minutely and tediously discussed. They were even agreed to by the mandarins, but, for reasons which will presently be made evident, they appear to have remained of very little benefit or consequence to European commerce.

The day before leaving Hué the mission paid a visit of ceremony to the prime minister. During this visit the females of the family, as they had also done upon two former occasions, crowded to a screen, which divided the apartment, and was in front of them and behind the chief. They not only gratified their curiosity by staring at the strangers through the open lattice-work, but they laughed, and nodded, and beckoned in such a manner as to give but a very indifferent opinion of Cochin-Chinese modesty in high life. All the ladies thus seen were young, and two or three of them fair and pretty, after the native notion of beauty.

Another incident, of which the mission were eye-witnesses, is mentioned by Mr. Crawfurd, as highly illustrative of the manners and government of the country. While the English gentlemen were entering the court-yard of the prime minister's house they saw a company of stage-players, who had been exhibiting before the mandarin and his ladies. It seems that they were not perfect in their parts, or, at least, that their performance did not satisfy the great man. They were accordingly undergoing the universal corrective for all breaches of moral, social, and political obligations—for all errors of omission or commission; that is to say, the bamboo. The first object that caught the eyes of the strangers as they entered the court was the hero of the piece lying prone on the ground, and receiving punishment in his full dramatic costume. The inferior characters, in due course, received their share also, as the Englishmen afterwards ascertained from hearing their cries while they sat with the prime minister. This conference terminated the diplomatic intercourse of the mission with the thrice-illustrious government of Anam.

The common people of the country seemed to fare hardly and sparingly enough, but our envoy praises much of the good cheer he found at the tables of the great men. They had pork, fish, and poultry, prepared in a great variety of ways, and very nice confectionary in abundance. The feasts, moreover, were served up in a very neat and cleanly manner. But there was one dainty which much offended their nostrils, and nearly turned their stomachs when it was named to them. It was not stewed dog or fricasséed pup. No; it consisted of three bowls of—*hatched eggs!* When the Englishmen expressed some surprise at the appearance of this portion of the repast, one of the native attendants observed that hatched eggs formed a delicacy beyond the reach of the poor, a delicacy adapted only for persons of distinction! On inquiry, it was found that they cost in the market some thirty per cent more than fresh eggs. It seems that they always form a distinguished part of every great entertainment, and that it is the practice, when invitations are sent out, to set the hens to hatch. The feast takes place about the tenth or twelfth day from the issuing the invitations,—the eggs being then considered as ripe, and exactly in the state most agreeable to the palate of a Cochin-Chinese epicure.

It is noticed as singular that these people, who are in general indiscriminate and even gross in their diet, have an antipathy to milk, amounting to loathing. They insist, that the practice of using milk as food is little better than that of drinking raw blood.

They could have little sympathy with the complete military despotism which existed as a government, or with the mandarins about the court, who owed their promotion to intrigue or to other unworthy means, and who were tyrants to the subjects and abject slaves to the king; but the Englishmen took away with them impressions, on the whole, rather favourable of the people. They found them far more honest, less greedy and rapacious, more truthful, more frank, and far less grovelling, than their neighbours the Siamese. Mr. Crawfurd seems to be of opinion that they are one of the most improvable people in the East. "The government of Cochin-China," he adds, "is extremely despotical, both in theory and practice. It pretends, however, like that of China, which it imitates in everything, to be patriarchal or paternal; and the object held out, is to rule the kingdom as a private family—the chief instrument, however, being the rod. Nothing seems to bound the authority of the king but the fear of insurrection, and such immemorial and indefinite usages as exist in all countries, however bad their government. The nobility is entirely a nobility of office, and their power to do good or evil is solely derived from the authority of the sovereign. The municipal government, as in China, is vested in two classes of mandarins, or chiefs; the one civil, and the other military. These mandarins are divided into ten orders, of which the two first compose the king's council." We can hardly indulge in any hope that the people will improve under a system like this; and it appears to be almost a law of destiny that Oriental despotisms should always be growing worse instead of better.

In 1844 the French minister in China, M. Lagrené, sent one of his attendant frigates, the "Alcmène," to Turon bay, to demand from the Anamese government redress for the ill treatment of a French missionary. Some commercial agents from France were in the frigate, and it was intended to establish, if possible, both diplomatic and commercial relations between France and Anam. The result of the mission was not at all satisfactory; the gentlemen who composed it were more vigilantly watched than Mr. Crawfurd and his suite had been; they were not permitted to visit the capital, and a great and by no means flattering eagerness to get rid of them was displayed by all the officials. M. Isidore Hedde, a distinguished member of the mission, succeeded, however, in acquiring some useful information about the country. He fully confirms the accounts of the size, convenience, safety, and salubrity of Turon bay, all round which are found different kinds of fish and fine shells. He mentions a great insurrection in the year 1833, during which a great part of the fortifications in the lower province were ruined, trade being driven away, and almost all the population destroyed by the sword or by famine. He tells us (what had long been suspected) that the Siamese and Anamese are very bad neighbours. The frontiers which separate Anam from Siam, or from the wild tribes which are supposed to belong to the Siamese kingdom, are determined very exactly; but they are frequently crossed by parties of warriors or marauders, and occupied sometimes by the one and afterwards by the other, according to the chances of war, which has long been maintained by the two peoples on their own impulse and account. M. Hedde describes the country as very fertile, especially in Lower Cochin-China. He adds that there are mines, and more particularly two gold mines; the one at a place called by him Phu-yen, and the other at a place which he calls Shuon-Grek. But Government, afraid of the European thirst for gold, forbids the people to touch them, or even to speak of them, under penalty of death.

M. Hedde mentions a notable improvement in the native navy; but his account of the state of trade is very discouraging. It appears to be far worse than at the time of Mr. Crawfurd's visit. Instead of the three ports promised to that gentleman, only one—the port of Turon—was open to foreign trade in 1844.

"The king has taken to himself the entire monopoly of trade. He buys goods from his subjects at the price he himself appoints, and he sends his ships to sell the goods, on his own account, at foreign ports. He employs in trade five new square-rigged ships and one or two *steamers*, which have been constructed in the country under the direction of Europeans. [We believe that all the machinery for the steamers was sent out ready-made from England.] He sends them to Canton, to Singapore, to Batavia, and sometimes to Calcutta. His exports to Singapore consist of silks, coarse but cheap teas, nankeens, cinnamon, rhinoceros' horns, cardamums, rice, sugar, salt, ivory, buffaloes' skins, precious woods, and some of the precious metals. He receives in return camlets, long-cloth, red, blue, and yellow, for the use of his soldiers, tin, fire-arms, some Indian goods, and a quantity of opium. [The narcotic drug is strictly prohibited here as in China, but the people are as much addicted to the use of it as are their neighbours, and no efforts made by the Government can prevent its importation. That government does not give the people the benefit of a good example; as the king himself imports opium, there can be little doubt that he and his mandarins either smoke it or sell it at a high price. Very probably they do both.] From Batavia the king receives cloves, nutmegs, glass ware, manufactured silks, which must always be of a black or blue colour, and velvets, which must always be green. To give an idea of the manner in which trade is carried on we may mention, that in 1843 the king sent to Canton two of his ships and twelve officers, to sell his goods and to buy others in that market. On their return, not being satisfied with their success, he degraded the officers, put them in prison and in fetters, and confiscated all their property. They are still bewailing their miserable condition, the reward of their bad luck as merchants. The junks which trade from Cochin-China are under private authorisation, or managed by fraud."

In the year 1845 (as we have seen), the French minister in China addressed a letter to his majesty of Anam, demanding the enlargement of a Romish missionary, a native of France, by name Le Fêvre, who had been imprisoned and otherwise ill treated. At the same time the king was exhorted to follow the recent example of the Emperor of China, in promising freedom of worship to such of his subjects as might embrace Christianity. The King of Anam released the priest, but returned no answer to the letter. In 1847 Commodore La Pierre entered Turon Bay, with the ships "La Gloire" and "La Victorieuse," to request some reply to the previous communication. As the natives had recourse to delays and evasions, the French took possession of the sails of five Cochin-Chinese vessels, which were rigged in the European manner, and kept the sails as security against the escape of the vessels. On the following day the chief authority on shore consented to receive a letter from the commodore, and promise to obtain an answer from his court in ten or twelve days. But when the letter arrived, a discussion arose as to forms. The mandarin would not take it on board, and the commodore would not attend an entertainment on shore to receive it. During the suspense some of the French officers, who were strolling near the beach, met an old native, who made alarming signs. As the officers could not understand him, the old man wrote down a few characters on a bit of paper. On being submitted to an interpreter, it was declared that these characters conveyed a warning against the treacherous intentions of the mandarins, who were said to have prepared an attack in case the French officers should attend the proposed entertainment. On the following day the French perceived that military preparations were in progress, and that the mandarins were sending guns and ammunition on board the five European-rigged vessels. The commodore despatched a boat to intercept the supplies. In one of the intercepted boats was discovered the plan of a conspiracy for surprising the French, and destroying them and their ships. An authentic copy of this paper was made and sent to the head-mandarin, with a demand for explanation. The foolish mandarin merely observed in reply, that he would take good care to punish the parties by whose imprudence the French became possessed of the paper.

" Upon this," says Sir J. F. Davis, " the commodore took the initiative, and opened a fire on the Cochin-Chinese defences. This was returned in a spirited manner; but in the course of one hour, out of the five Anamese ships, one was sunk, one burned, and another blown up, while the two remaining hoisted a flag of truce. The French went on board, took the wounded to their own ships, and after dressing their hurts sent them on shore. According to the accounts of the wounded, there were above 1300 men on board the Anamese frigates, of whom only those taken to the French ships survived, none being allowed, or indeed able, to retreat. Only one Frenchman was killed, and one wounded, which is a sufficient commentary on the disparity of naval power. M. La Pierre left an inscription in a temple on shore, in remembrance of the respect and submission of the barbarians who were to have been exterminated; and the French ships quitted Turon Bay, where the ancient alliance can hardly be renewed very readily." *

So soon as his other numerous occupations allowed him

---

* " China during the War, and since the Peace."

time, Sir J. F. Davis, plenipotentiary in China and governor of Hong-kong, repaired to Turon Bay, being desirous to observe the actual effect produced by the late operations of the French ships, and to ascertain whether the Anamese government were in a more yielding humour. The period was the proper one for going down the China Sea, though it turned out that a worse could not have been fallen upon for Cochin-China itself, where it was just the rainy and stormy season; but our able diplomatist had no other time available.

This well-timed and well-made attempt to establish friendly relations with the Anamese government is deserving of more particular notice.

Furnished with full powers, to be used at his own discretion, Sir J. F. Davis, on board H. M. steam-frigate "Vulture," reached Turon Bay on the 9th of October, 1847. The King of Anam had greatly benefited, both commercially and politically, by our war with China. During that contest the old sovereign, Ming-ming, noted for his dislike to Europeans, died, and his successor saw, with the conclusion of our treaty of peace, new avenues opened to his trade which but for us would have remained closed. Instead of being confined to Canton and Amoy, as before, the ships and junks of Anam might now proceed to the other three ports which our treaty had unlocked. Moreover, since the war, China had adopted a conciliatory system towards Anam, and had even exempted its sovereign from sending tribute. It was not unreasonably conjectured that these benefits must be accompanied by some gratitude towards the English.

On the arrival of the "Vulture" a great commotion was evidently excited on shore; signals were made from the tops of the hills in Chinese manner, by means of fire and smoke. The greatest distrust was at first evinced, and nobody would come on board. Since the visit of the French some new batteries had been erected, and they were at this moment busily engaged in raising other defensive works. On the second day an inferior officer ventured to come off to the "Vulture," to make inquiries. He stated that information had been at once conveyed to Hué of the arrival of our ship, and that instructions might be expected in two days; but he protested that he dared not take charge of a letter addressed to the minister, as he had no orders to that effect. The letter was therefore conveyed on shore, and delivered to a person whose official character was denoted by his litter and umbrella. Meanwhile the rain commenced, and it continued with the violence known only in tropical climates for a day or two, during which communication was almost impracticable. At length, on the 12th of October, Dr. Gutzlaff, by direction of Sir J. F. Davis, went ashore to make inquiries. The learned interpreter met with a very civil reception, and brought back an obliging message from the native officers at Turon, who said they hoped that, while they waited for an answer from their superiors at Hué, the English would amuse themselves on land, and apply to them for whatever they might want. On the 14th, Captain MacDougall and Dr. Gutzlaff landed to make farther inquiries. They brought off the treasurer of the province, who stated that the provincial governor would probably arrive on the morrow to communicate with Sir J. F. Davis; adding, that the exceedingly bad weather had occasioned some delay. Of the visit of the French in the preceding April the treasurer gave a false, lying account. On the following day the people on shore were seen fitting up a hall of audience, with hangings and other furniture. This was taken as a substantial proof that the expected minister was on the point of arriving. The 16th was a fine clear day; Captain MacDougall and Dr. Gutzlaff again went ashore, to congratulate the great man and invite him to go on board the "Vulture." They were handsomely received by two mandarins, the one being the minister from Hué, and the other their former acquaintance the treasurer. The two mandarins sent back visiting-cards, *à la Chinoise*, in return for Sir J. F. Davis's card, and engaged to be on board the same afternoon.

At the appointed time the mandarins arrived in a galley, rowed by twelve men in scarlet, while one man beat time in the bows with a song or cadence. They were received with the Chinese salute of three guns, and by a guard of marines. They were dressed in blue garments of flowered silk, and wore black crape turbans. Instead of discussing business, they made this a mere visit of ceremony, agreeing that their visit should be returned on the morrow. Accordingly, on the 17th, Sir J. F. Davis, with Captain MacDougall and a party of twenty marines, repaired to the landing-place, where he found the two mandarins in their full dresses of ceremony—the ancient costume of China previous to the Tartar conquest, but now never worn in that country except on the stage. A Cochin-Chinese entertainment was prepared for the visitors. This over, business was entered upon. The mandarins wished to send Sir J. F. Davis's credentials up to the capital. This led to a long discussion, which ended in convincing the Englishmen that no effectual negociation could be carried on except at the capital, and with persons nearer to the king than these two officers. The mandarins had no inclination to promote this journey to Hué; they told Sir John, that this being the rainy season, the journey of fifty miles would be attended with much difficulty and inconvenience. Sir John replied, that for the sake of paying his respects to their sovereign, and establishing more intimate relations between the two countries, he would quite disregard any amount of personal inconvenience. At last they said they would refer to Hué, for the king's leave for Sir John to proceed. At the same time, however, they requested him to draw up a statement in Chinese, in order that they might not be involved in disgrace. This paper was, of course, given to them. And this was all the business that was done in three long hours.

The Cochin-Chinese rain, which is described as something quite peculiar, even by those who had long lived in tropical countries, again came down in a solid cascade, without intermission or decrease. The country was so flooded, that none of the English went ashore. After four days, Dr. Gutzlaff was sent to the mandarins with a letter, requesting a written reply. While the Doctor was waiting to see the mandarins they sent off an open note, requesting a personal conference on shore. The natural answer to this note was a reference to the written communication already sent by the hand of Dr. Gutzlaff. Captain MacDougall landed, to try if he could not infuse some spirit into the proceedings. The mandarins excused what they called a necessary delay. They were for sending presents to the "Vulture," but everything was refused until they consented to take other presents in return. Such an exchange accordingly took place on the 22d.

On the 23d Sir John and his party, while making an excursion up the river of Turon in open boats, were overtaken by a terrific storm of wind and rain. As they descended the river, on their return, the hurricane became fearful. Halfway they were met by two covered galleys, considerately despatched to their assistance by the two mandarins. They gladly got under cover, and instead of risking death by going off to the ships, they stopped at the lodgings of the mandarins. One of those formidable typhoons, for which this neighbourhood is famous, had set in. The Anamese not only requested the party to remain, but also provided a repast and every accommodation in their power, in order that they might pass the night comfortably. It is quite evident that personal goodwill was not wanting on the side of the people, whatever might be the feeling of their suspicious government. The hurricane blew away the whole front of the Englishmen's lodging, which was a temporary structure of bamboos and mats, the back portion only being solidly constructed. It was much feared that the ships would be blown from their anchorage, but they safely rode out the storm. Early in the morning their hosts prepared another entertainment for them; but as there was a lull in the tempest, Sir John and his companions immediately put off in their boats, and soon gained the cabin of the "Vulture."

On the 25th, the weather having moderated, the mandarins came on board to announce, after many a long *détour*, that it was found there was no precedent on record of a foreign envoy being received by their king. This was said with much ceremony and politeness, but in substance it amounted to the declaration, that the English would not be permitted to go to Hué.

The mandarins proceeded to state that some presents had been forwarded by the king, and they requested that our envoy would send on shore for them. "The strictly correct course," says Sir John, "was for them to send these public presents on board; though this point of punctilio might have been waived, had it not occurred to me that a grand discussion had once before arisen as to the reception of presents on their side for the king himself, which had ended in no exchange taking place. It therefore became necessary to demur, and to state the only condition on which public presents could be received—that of perfect reciprocity and mutual exchange. The truth then came out, that they were not allowed to receive any presents for the king himself, and this at once settled the whole question; for nothing is so necessary with these semi-civilised people as to disabuse them of all their assumptions. The mandarins showed much anxiety to deliver their charge to us, and therefore their instructions to receive none in return must have been sufficiently strict.

"We parted, however, on very good terms, after the exchange of many mutual civilities, and it is to be hoped that the courtesy and moderation shown on both sides may have a good effect. Without being able to judge of the actual state of the country, the incessant and inundating rains had at least furnished a plausible pretext for our not going by land to Hué, which is on a shallow river, impracticable to either the "Vulture" frigate or the sloop-of-war. The most advisable course would be to make the coast in the month of April, when it is not a lee-shore, and go straight up the river to the capital in an iron steamer, which need not draw more than six feet water." *

We believe that, at this moment, if the experiment were properly tried, our light steamer would encounter no armed resistance, and that her arrival at Hué would be the best possible means of opening negociations with the king, who is evidently kept in ignorance of nearly all that passes between foreigners and his own officers at the mouth of the river. The poor sovereign is fenced in by old formulas, ceremonies, rules, regulations, and precedents, and by a limited, but active, number of courtiers and officials, who are directly interested in maintaining the ancient order of things, and who constantly deceive him by false, fabulous reports. The appearance of our flag close under the windows of the royal residence might possibly dissipate some of these mischievous delusions, induce the king to see with his own eyes and to judge for himself. We, however, fear that diplomacy will have to speak by the cannon's mouth, as well in Anam as in the neighbouring regions. This necessity is the more to be regretted, as the people of the country would suffer, and these poor people (who already suffer too much), are kindly and well disposed, naturally intelligent, and very desirous of a

---

* Sir J. F. Davis, "China during the War, and since the Peace, with a chapter on the Indo-Chinese Nations." London, 1852.

free and friendly intercourse with the civilised nations of the West.

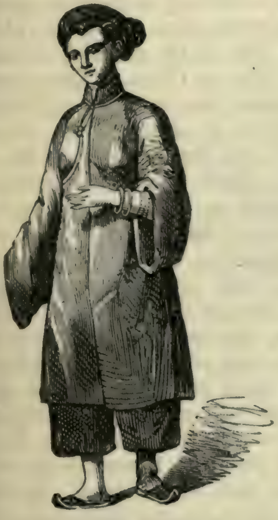
If the present Emperor of the French listens to a very numerous and (at least with the pen) very active party in his empire, he may probably be induced soon to try another and a more pacific experiment in Turon Bay. These writers insist that their nation has established a sort of tradition in Cochin-China, which it would be better to keep up by friendly proceedings than by force of arms. "On this point," they say, "England has not been before us. Let us profit by this piece of good fortune! Let us at least take care that no European nation, to our prejudice and by our fault, possess itself of political influence in a country which, sooner or later, will be invaded, like the Celestial Empire, by the interests of the West."* They lost in the Chinese Seas (off the coast of Corea, in August 1847), both the two fine ships which destroyed the Anamese squadron; but we do not believe that this will deter them from renewing their attempt. When the French really believe they have a *tradition* in a country, they are pretty sure to try and get thither.

It appears that subsequently to the visit of Sir J. F. Davis — the last English visit of which we have any knowledge — three or four American vessels have been allowed to go up the Saigun and Hué rivers; but with very little profit, for it is said that the king and his mandarins not only set their own prices on what they had to sell, but also on all the commodities that they wanted to buy, and that none were allowed to trade except his majesty and his mandarins. With the natural resources, rich productions, commodious rivers, and admirable and innumerable ports she possesses, it is impossible or in the highest degree improbable that Anam will be left much longer in this uncommercial, anti-social, defiant condition.

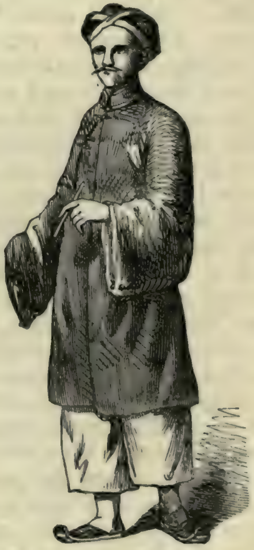
Though probably lower in stature than any people of Central Asia, the Anamese are strongly and well formed, and altogether active and hardy. In point of features they bear a nearer resemblance to the Malays than to any other race; but instead of the Malay ferocity of expression, their countenances exhibit cheerfulness and good humour. The women appear to be, to a remarkable degree, fairer and handsomer than the men; their hands, arms, and feet are well formed; and even among the lower orders, their deportment is said to be very graceful. In common with the Chinese and all these Indu-Chinese nations and tribes, the people of Anam are wholly free from the prejudices and embarrassments of *caste*, which in India stand so much in the way of general improvement, and obstruct so many of the duties and actions both of private and public life. The Cochin-Chinese people are all one and the same: out of the limits of royalty there is no rank except official rank, and to this all may aspire. In spite of their Buddhism they will sit down and eat with anybody, and of everything that is eatable.

---

* "Revue des Deux Mondes."



Lady.



Mandarin.

The dress of both sexes is becoming, being the same as the old costume of the Celestial Empire before the Chinese were compelled to shave their heads and adopt the fantastic garb of their Mantchu conquerors. Both sexes in Anam dress nearly alike. For the lower part of the body the covering consists of very loose trousers, secured at the waist by a sash. The main portion of the dress consists of two or more loose frocks, reaching down to the knee, or a little below it. The outer frock is secured by five buttons and as many loops. Its sleeves are loose, and with persons not compelled to labour, they dangle a foot or a foot and a half beyond the extremities of the fingers. With the ladies the inner frock reaches below the knee, and the outer nearly down to the ankles. When a gentleman is in full dress, he always wears over the frocks a loose rich silk gown reaching to the ankles. The inner frock is cotton, of domestic manufacture, always unbleached, there not being a rag of white linen in the whole kingdom. The outer frocks and the gown, with the better ranks, are invariably of silk, or flowered gauze, both commonly of Chinese manufacture. The trousers, with the same class, are either plain silk or crape of domestic fabric. Silk, as the material of dress, is more frequently used even than in China. The poorer orders are generally clad in cotton, but even among them native silk is not unfrequently to be seen. Their cotton dress is very generally dyed of a dark brown colour, which is obtained from a tuberous root. Both sexes wear turbans, which are put on with much neatness. As used to be the case among the Turks, the form of the turban denotes the rank of the wearer, and distinguishes the civil from the military order. When abroad, both sexes wear varnished straw hats, little less than two feet in diameter, tied under the chin. These hats, which are sometimes in the form of an inverted basin, and at others in that of a sugar-loaf, though grotesque in appearance, afford good protection against sun and rain. They make both their hats and their turbans at home; the turban must always be either black or blue. Both by men and women the hair of the head is worn long, and neatly put up in a knot at the back of the head. Ladies secure it by a long bodkin with an ornamented gold head, not unlike the bodkin used by the peasantry in Southern Italy. Ornaments of the precious metals, or gems, do not appear to be very general; but the ladies wear armlets and bracelets of gold. Where gems are worn, those in most frequent use are pearls and amber brought from the Chinese province of Yunnan. Men of all ranks, and women above the labouring class, always carry about them a pair of silken bags, or reticules, strung together, and usually thrown over the shoulders, or carried in the hand. These bags contain betel, tobacco, money, &c.; they are generally of blue satin, and often richly and even tastefully embroidered. The shoes worn by the ladies and gentlemen are slippers without heels. Happily for the fair sex, the Chinese fashion of little stumpy, useless feet, and the torture employed to form them, are altogether unknown in this country. The royal colour is yellow, or rather orange: the king's own standard is of this colour; but the national flag (probably in imitation of the French in the time of the Bourbons) is white. Cloth, figured with an emblematic dragon, can be worn only by a few officers of the highest rank. White is considered mourning, and cotton only is used in mourning dresses.

In their habits and persons the common people are excessively uncleanly. Like other Indians, they perform frequent ablutions; but, notwithstanding this, their hair, their skin, their hands, including the long nails, which they also are very fond of wearing, are described as absolutely impure. Their linen, not bleached at first, seems never to be washed afterwards. At home, even the gentlemen wear their foul cotton shirts; and when they go abroad, without changing them, they clap over them their fine silk robes. In extenuation, it is said that their neighbours, the Siamese and Burmans, are still dirtier, and that the Chinese in general are not much cleaner. Their diet has been already described as gross. Besides rotten eggs, they eat vermin, the flesh of the alligator, and a thick sauce composed of the juices of putrid fish. They have other messes, which, both in taste and odour, would be intolerable to almost any other people in the world.

Like the Siamese they are, nationally, excessively vain. In their own notions the Chinese are not their superiors, and the Kambojans, Siamese, and Burmans are incomparably their inferiors. In short, they are a favoured race, and the first nation upon the face of the earth. But their national vanity, excessive as it is, is much less offensive than that of the Siamese; for with strangers they are sociable, good-humoured, and obliging. "In our intercourse with the Siamese," says Mr. Crawfurd, "we found them little better than sturdy beggars, from the highest to the lowest. The Cochin-Chinese officers of government, from all accounts, are sufficiently rapacious also; but the lower classes were far from evincing any disposition of this sort. We found them throughout kind and hospitable, receiving the little presents we made to them thankfully, but always to make some return." Poor creatures! There is little in their government to account for their habitual cheerfulness, or to make them good or happy. They are ground to the dust; their existence is a life passed in contempt, under vexations, spoliations, the rattan, and the incessant government *corvées*. A Cochin-Chinese has nothing which he can call his own,—not even that life which nature intended to make agreeable and easy to him, by granting a fertile soil and a sea swarming with fish. M. Chaigneau, who lived nearly forty years in the country, says,—"Not only is the Cochin-Chinese gay by character; he is also gentle, humane, intelligent, hospitable: but he joins to these good qualities the vices which are engendered by slavery and weakness. He may be reproached with inconstancy, fickleness, restlessness, a proneness to become the ready instrument of revolt, extravagant superstition, and the love of gaming carried to the length of frenzy." Time would be but thrown away in minutely describing a government which is merely a capricious despotism. In theory it is, like that of China, patriarchal or paternal; the sovereign is to rule the kingdom as a father rules a private family, and that mainly by the rod. Nothing binds the authority of the king except the fear of insurrection, and such immemorial and indefinite usages as exist in all countries, however, badly governed. The power of life and death is absolute in the king so long as he is firmly seated on his throne. As a common rule, when any subject gives serious offence or even ground of suspicion, he cuts off his head, and there is an end of that. When a rebellious party proves stronger than the king, they cut off his head, and there is an end of him. Another sovereign steps into his place, without any limitations set to his prerogative, and if no successful rebellion take place he reigns to the end of his days and bequeaths the throne to his successor. The general administration is conducted by a supreme council and six ministers of state. Besides these, there are three superior crown-officers, called *kun*. One of these three is viceroy of

Tonquin, another viceroy of Kamboja, and the third the mandarin, or minister of elephants. This last personage is properly the prime minister, as well as minister for foreign affairs.

The government claims the services of the whole male adult population, and calls any man out, to labour or to fight, whenever it chooses. This institution, which appears to have existed for ages, forms the worst feature of the administration. From the age of eighteen to that of sixty years, every man must consider himself as at the disposal of the state. In Anam Proper, every third man borne on the rolls of the army performs actual service during three years, at the termination of which he is permitted to return to his family, and remain with them for a like period. In Tonquin, where insurrections occur once a-year on an average, the conscription is less rigorous; but even there, every seventh man is called upon to serve. The conscripts are called soldiers, wear uniforms, and are formed into battalions or regiments; but, besides being called upon to act as sailors as well as soldiers, they are made to perform all manner of services and labours. They row the king's galleys, they carry burdens like street porters, they work as mechanics in the arsenals and dock-yards, they are employed as labourers in digging canals, making roads, building bridges, &c. They are also constantly employed as domestic and menial servants. They carry the palanquins and sedan-chairs of their mandarins. Such a system may well be believed to make bad soldiers, as well as bad artificers, labourers, and domestics. In the time of the Great King, who died in 1819, the army is said to have amounted to a standing force of 150,000 men. A few years later, the effective force was found to be greatly reduced, and it was believed that the number of troops regularly clothed and armed did not exceed 50,000 men. We believe, however, that the royal guard, which is strong in numbers, and always stationed near the person of the king, was not included in this estimate. To each regiment is attached an uncertain number of war elephants. The whole of the elephants belonging to the government were estimated at 800, of which 130 are always stationed at the capital. They show no preference for *white* elephants, which, in Siam, are objects of adoration.

The troops are armed with muskets and bayonets, or with spears; the two descriptions of weapon being intermixed in the ranks, in regular proportions. They take great care of their muskets, which are generally found in good order. The exercise and evolutions consist of a few very simple manœuvres, on the principles of European tactics, which were taught by the French officers. The discipline is strict, and Tartarian; for the slightest offence, or even mistake, the poor soldier is thrown on the ground and soundly bambooed. When he gets up again—if he can speak—he must thank his officer for the correction he has received. As the men are docile, obedient, strong, active, and capable of enduring hardship, they might, if disciplined and officered like our Sepoys, be converted into very good troops; but at present, personal courage or steadiness in action is not a virtue to be expected from them. They are just sufficiently steady and disciplined to put down

insurrection at home, and to contend advantageously with their less disciplined neighbours, but they would prove no defence at all against the invasion of a European power.

In other respects, the country is very weak and exposed. It is flanked by Tonquin and Kamboja, which are both recent conquests, and both notoriously disaffected. All their strongholds, arsenals, and fortresses, built in the French manner—not excepting the capital city—are accessible to a fleet, or liable to be taken by a *coup-de-main*. Their fall would be equivalent to the loss of the kingdom. There are other circumstances which would contribute to facilitate this conquest. The central part of the kingdom, or Anam Proper, the country of the conquering race, depends for food and other supplies upon Tonquin and Kamboja, and these supplies are almost exclusively conveyed by sea. Now, all this food, &c., might be easily cut off by two or three small steamers; and these two countries of supply, but especially Kamboja, could be effectually blockaded by a very trifling naval force; while the least support given to the inhabitants of either would drive them into insurrection against the central government. The envoy of Warren Hastings, Mr. Chapman, who saw the country during a long civil war, was of opinion that, by siding with one of the contending factions, a force of fifty European infantry, twenty-five artillery, and 200 Sepoys, would be adequate to the conquest of the kingdom. Matters are certainly improving since then, yet Mr. Crawfurd made little doubt but that a force of 5000 European troops, and a squadron of a few sloops of war, would be quite sufficient for the conquest, and even for the permanent occupation of the whole empire. The same writer also makes the important observation, that it is on this side that our empire in the East might be most endangered or annoyed. His words, which at this moment demand particular attention, are these:—"Were Cochin-China and the countries dependent upon it placed under the skilful rule of an European government, according to the scheme which the French appear to have had in view, I am led to think, judging from the docile character of the people, the fertility and resources of many parts of the kingdom, the numerous fine harbours belonging to other ports, and the centrical and favourable position of the whole, that in time a power might be established in that country, more troublesome and dangerous to our Indian commerce and empire, than it is easy to imagine could arise in any other situation, or under any other circumstances."

The government has other sources of revenue besides forced labour, forced contributions, and arbitrary duties on foreign trade; it imposes a heavy land-tax, and head-money, or a capitation-tax, like that which obtains in Turkey and other countries of the East. Only here the capitation-tax is applied to all classes, and to the conquerors as well as the conquered. Money is also made by monopolies of certain productions, as the best sorts of cinnamon (said to exceed those of Ceylon, and to be the best in the world), cardamoms, the valuable eagle-wood, and various other articles. The king is believed to have generally, or very frequently, three or four millions in gold or silver hoarded up in his treasury.

The peasantry are allowed to elect from among their own number the head-men, who are answerable for the collection of taxes, for the filling up of the conscription, &c. This arrangement, which is ancient, saves the government much trouble. But it is not to be supposed that these head-men have any rights or privileges, or any faculty of standing between the poor villager and the heavy hand of the king and his mandarins. When the money or the men are not forthcoming, the first thing done is to seize the heads of villages; and these poor head-men seem to be more bambooed than any other subjects of his Anamese majesty. They have, however, the right of bambooing in their turn; for they are charged with the police of their respective villages, and are legally authorised to use the bastinado and the *cangue*, or Chinese pillory.

If using the rod or stick instead of sparing it be a proof of parental affection, this government and its officials, and its subjects generally, must be set down as superabounding in affection. From the parental character which is affected throughout all the institutions, every superior appears to be vested with a legal authority to chastise his inferior; fathers and mothers bamboo their children of all ages; husbands bamboo their wives, and masters their servants; the petty officers bamboo the soldiers, and are in their turn bambooed by their superior officers. Except in times of insurrection and rebellion, or in moments when the king happens to be in a very bad humour, capital punishments do not seem to be very common.

Sir George Staunton found the military mandarins, who here hold the first rank, excessively unjust, partial, corrupt, and tyrannical, and the civil mandarins not a whit better. "Among the several hardships suffered by all classes, were the bad practices in the establishments intended for the administration of justice. Causes were tried, indeed, with much formality, and an apparent desire to find out the truth, in order to a fair decision; yet, in fact, a favourable decree was generally purchased by a bribe. Presents were accepted from both parties; but the richest was most likely to be successful."

In Anam, as in the Celestial Empire, there is no nobility except that of office. But the system varies in some points from that of the Chinese, and from the system of any other nation with which we are acquainted. M. Chaigneau informs us, "There are but two classes in Cochin-China, the people and the nobility, or mandarins. Nobility is personal, and in some degree hereditary; but time, which in Europe adds unceasingly to the hereditary nobility, destroys it by little and little in Cochin-China. The son of a mandarin of the first class will only be of the second. If he be in actual employ as such, his children again shall be of the third class; but if he shall not have been so employed, the children after his death shall return forthwith into the ranks of the people. In each generation nobility descends by one step at least, unless by his talents or his services the descendant of a mandarin should gain preferment. This is open to all classes. At the present moment [some thirty years ago] nearly all the great mandarins, the chiefs of *the five columns* of the empire, have been common soldiers."

Of religion, or of a deep devotional feeling of any kind, the people of this country seem to be more devoid even than the very irreligious Chinese. Those who pretend to superior learning, read and quote the moral philosophy and the books of Confucius on manners and etiquette; but these things, which do not amount to a religious faith or a worship, have no hold on the mass of the people, who, if they are anything, are Buddhists. But apparently there is no real devotion, no enthusiasm, no deep-rooted dogma, to which the people are wedded. The ministers of that belief, instead of being honoured, reverenced, numerous and powerful, as in other Buddhist and in Brahminical countries, are strikingly few in number, weak, and poor, of the meanest orders, and very little respected. They are looked upon as little better than so many conjurers or fortune-tellers. They go about in rags, and are rarely seen. Mr. Crawfurd, who constantly met swarms of bonzes in Siam, could hardly ever see one bonze in this kingdom. Numerous small, mean temples, do indeed exist, and to these solitary votaries occasionally repair, to burn joss-sticks and bits of gilded paper ; but there are no spacious temples or other places where the people assemble to perform their devotions in common, or to receive religious or moral instruction. Like the mariners on board the Chinese junks, they often, in the disappointment of some hope, or in anger at some sinister occurrence, turn their idols with their faces to the wall, or even beat them with the bamboo. It has been assumed by some European writers that this absence of belief, this *tabula rasa* of the mind in matters of religion, is favourable to the inculcation of Christianity. But this is, at least, doubtful. It may be easier, where strong devotional feelings, though idolatrous, exist, to turn them in the right direction, than to awaken or create such feelings where they have never existed at all, and where the nature of men seems to be strangely inimical to them. Our missionaries may solve the problem. They certainly will have no fanatical misbelief to uproot.

According to Mr. Finlayson, who accompanied Mr. Crawfurd in his mission, the traces of Buddhism are very much fainter here than in any other Indu-Chinese nation or people. The Anamese do not appear really to believe in the transmigration of souls. The better sort affect to follow the precepts of Confucius, and to entertain a code of morals without any religious faith whatsoever. But even the adoration of ancestors, the most prevalent superstition of all, and one fostered by the government, is performed in a very lukewarm, trifling manner. In general, if religion be ever thought of, it consists in the ceremony of placing on a rude altar some bits of meat and a few straws covered with the dust of some odorous wood ; or in scattering to the winds a few scraps of paper covered with tinsel; or in sticking a piece of writing on a post, door, or tree. The more barbarous rites of the aborigines, who worship the elephant, the dog, and the tiger, are not yet altogether extinct among the common country people. It is curious to observe, that among the Mongols and all the races of men connected with them (the Turks and the Japanese, for example), the dog is an object of worship, of terror, or of superstitious divination. Yet the majority of the Anamese now kill and eat dogs without any scruple, being restrained neither by their ancient idolatry nor by their present Buddhism.

One of our travellers was struck with awe on entering a gloomy temple. Groups of idols, of hideous forms and colossal proportions, were visible through the dim twilight that pervaded the temple, and seemed to render them still more huge, hideous, and unearthly. The recollections recurred to him afterwards like the traces of an indistinct, feverish dream. The divinities, however, were treated with little respect by the guardians of the temple. One of them, an old priest, joked and laughed at the exhibition. "This fellow," said he, pointing to a figure with the bust of a man, the feet of an ox, and the head of an elephant, "was very famous for his gallantries; and this one," tweaking a tremendous nose on a human head stuck upon the body of a tiger, "was celebrated for destroying wild beasts!" An American vessel being in want of some compact ballast, the captain was told by a priest on the coast that he might smuggle on board some of his images, as they were very heavy, and of no use where they were kept. A native fisherman was seen to belabour one of his gods with a bamboo, and then to throw it into the sea, because the wind had turned unfavourably. Generally, they appeared to be ready to laugh whenever any question was put to them concerning their religious ceremonies. "A more direct engine than that of religion," says Mr. Finlayson, "has modified, if not formed, the moral character of the people; it is that of an avaricious, illiberal, and despotic government."

The only part of the religious belief or ceremony of these people which appears to reach the heart, or at all affect their character and conduct, is the worship of the Manes of progenitors. This is universally enforced by the government, as a moral and civil duty; and the honours paid to the dead are considered equally necessary to their repose and to the temporal prosperity of the living. The prettiest, the holiest —the only holy-looking things in the kingdom—are the groves with which they surround the resting-places of their dead. These little religious groves, which form the most striking objects in Cochin Chinese landscape, are generally interspersed among the villages. They are of a circular form, and consist of a variety of thick and umbrageous trees. A single entrance conducts by a winding passage to the centre of them, where there is a green open space, dotted with miniature temples or rude stone altars. These retreats are sacred to the dead, and their gloom, silence, and solemnity are admirably suited to the purpose. The great king, Kia-long, by the forced labour of his subjects, created one splendid necropolis.

Mr. Crawfurd says, "The late king, for example, constructed a splendid mausoleum, and laid out extensive gardens, as a place of interment for himself and his favourite queen, upon which thousands of his subjects were occupied for years. The following account of these gardens was given to us. They are situated in a romantic part of the mountains, and about ten leagues to the north of the capital. The tombs are the least splendid part of this undertaking, which consists, besides, of spacious gardens and groves, laid out in walks and terraces, and, as it is said, with no mean taste. In the course of this splendid undertaking, hills were levelled,—mounds thrown across from one hill to another—canals and tanks dug, and spacious roads constructed. The queen, a woman of great beauty and merit, who had accompanied her husband in his exile in Siam,—in his retreat among the desert islands in the Gulf of that name, and who was, besides, his constant companion in all his warlike expeditions by sea and land, was buried here about seven years before our visit. Four years afterwards, the king himself was placed by her side. The same spot, before being decorated in the present magnificent manner, was also the ancient burying-ground of the predecessors of the present race of kings. The place was represented to us as a delicious and a romantic spot, exceeding in beauty every other scene in the country. We wished for permission to pay it a visit, but were politely informed that the king was always reluctant to permit the visits of strangers, whose presence, he said, might '*trouble the repose of the spirits of his ancestors.*'"

On a bank of the river near Hué there are some singular temples, six in number, constructed of stone and lime, with tiled roofs, and surrounded by an extensive wall of neat and solid masonry. They compose a sort of pantheon, erected by the great Kia-long, and consecrated to the memory of mandarins of the military order. Higher up the river there is a similar group of temples, consecrated to literary or civil mandarins. The bodies of the dead are buried in these places, but to each of them is dedicated a small stone pillar, inscribed with the name and rank. There are no bonzes, or priests, attached to the temples, which are not open to the public except on the annual festival set aside for the performance of honours to deceased ancestors. Among the heroes whose names are honoured in the military pantheon are a brave Frenchman and a fighting Irishman. The first was a corporal of the name of Manuel, who blew himself up in a small vessel rather than submit to the king's enemies. The Irishman was an officer, a person of great gallantry, and a personal favourite of Kia-long, but his name could not be ascertained.

The bodies of the dead are not burned, as is commonly the practice in Siam. As in that country, and also in China, they are frequently kept above ground, in wooden coffins, for a great length of time.

Although they are not immured, as in most countries of Asia, the women of Anam are treated with very little respect or tenderness. Provided he do not kill her outright, her husband may inflict the severest corporal punishment upon his wife without being called to any account, and without forfeiting the good opinion of his neighbours. The gentlemen of our mission were constantly annoyed by the cries of poor women, and by the sight of husbands publicly bambooing their wives. An Anamese boatman told an American trader that wives require a great deal of caning,—that nothing but the bamboo could keep them in proper discipline and order. All brides are sold. Usually a man marries as soon as he can afford to buy a wife. The rich purchase as many wives as they choose. The price paid to the bride's parents, among the more indigent classes, is seldom more than twenty kwans, which is about the price of a buffalo or very good pony. Before marriage, the young women are allowed the most perfect liberty, or rather license. Incontinence is then considered no offence at all. Abortion is very frequently produced, as in Turkey; but infanticide, so horribly frequent in China, is scarcely known here, and is considered as a heinous crime. Once married, the liberty of the female sex is at an end; the wife is absolutely the slave of her husband, and any frailty on her part is punishable with death. As such a large amount of the male population is absorbed by the army and the other services of government, the women of the poorer classes have an uncommon share of hard work. It is, indeed, often said, that in this country the labour of the women supports the men. They plough, harrow, reap, and carry heavy burdens; and they are also shopkeepers, pedlers, brokers, and money-changers. It may well be supposed that they have very little affection for their husbands. They always prefer strangers, and especially Chinese, if they can get them as mates, or induce them to purchase them of their parents; for the Chinamen, being free from the military conscription and from the government *corvées*, have time to work for themselves. The Chinese settlers are even said to treat their wives with comparative respect and kindness, and to take a pleasure in seeing them well dressed and living at home in ease and comfort. This must be taken as a proof that these colonists thrive in Anam, for, in their own country, the common Chinese are very far from being indulgent husbands. The Cochin-Chinese themselves scarcely ever emigrate.

Though by nature a cheerful, pleasure-loving people, they seem to have very few public amusements, or sports, or pastimes. Their theatrical exhibitions, thoroughly Chinese but somewhat more barbarous, appear to be confined to the royal palace and the houses of the great mandarins. At Saigun, Mr. Crawfurd and the gentlemen of his mission were invited to be present at an elephant and tiger fight.

" For this purpose we mounted our elephants, and repaired to the glacis of the fort, where the conflict was to take place. The governor went out at another gate, and arrived at the place before us in his palanquin. When the hall broke up, the herald or crier announced the event. With the exception of this ceremony, great propriety and decorum were observed throughout the audience. The exhibition made by the herald, however, was truly barbarous. He threw himself backward, projecting his abdomen, and putting his hands to his sides, and in this absurd attitude uttered several loud and long yells. The tiger had been exhibited in front of the hall, and was driven to the spot on a hurdle. A great concourse of people had assembled to witness the exhibition. The tiger was secured to a stake by a rope tied round his loins, about thirty yards long. The mouth of the unfortunate animal was sewn up, and his nails pulled out. He was of great size, and extremely active. No less than forty-six elephants, all males of great size, were seen drawn out in line. One at a time was brought to attack the tiger. The first elephant advanced, to all appearance with a great show of courage, and we thought from his determined look that he would certainly have despatched his antagonist in an instant. At the first effort he raised the tiger upon his tusks to a considerable height, and threw him to the distance of at least twenty feet. Notwithstanding this, the tiger rallied, and sprang upon the elephant's trunk and head up to the very keeper, who was upon his neck. The elephant took alarm, wheeled about and ran off, pursued by the tiger as far as the rope would allow him. The fugitive, although not hurt, roared most piteously, and no effort could bring him back to the charge. A little after this we saw a man brought up to the governor, bound with cords, and dragged into his presence by two officers. This was the conductor of the recreant elephant. A hundred strokes of the bamboo were ordered to be inflicted upon him on the spot. For this purpose he was thrown on his face upon the ground, and secured by one man sitting astride upon his neck and shoulders, and by another sitting upon his feet, a succession of executioners inflicting the punishment. When it was over, two men carried off the sufferer by the head and heels, apparently quite insensible. While this outrage was perpetrating, the governor coolly viewed the combat of the tiger and elephant, as if nothing else particular had been going forward. Ten or twelve elephants were brought up in succession to attack the tiger, which was killed at last, merely by the astonishing falls he received when tossed from the tusks of the elephants. The prodigious strength of these animals was far beyond anything which I could have supposed. Some of them tossed the tiger to a distance of at least thirty feet, after he was nearly lifeless, and could offer no resistance. We could not reflect without horror, that these very individual animals were the same that have for years executed the sentence of the law upon the many malefactors condemned to death. Upon these occasions, a single toss, such as I have described, is always, I am told, sufficient to destroy life.

"After the tiger-fight we had a mock-battle, the intention of which was to represent elephants charging an intrenchment. A sort of *chevaux de frise* was erected to the extent of forty or fifty yards, made of very frail materials. Upon this was placed a quantity of dry grass, whilst a show was made of defending it, by a number of spearman placed behind. As soon as the grass was set on fire, a number of squibs and crackers were let off; flags were waved in great numbers; drums beat, and a single piece of artillery began to play. The elephants were now encouraged to charge; but they displayed their usual timidity, and it was not until the fire was nearly extinguished, and the materials of the *chevaux de frise* almost consumed, that a few of the boldest could be forced to pass through."

When these amusements were over, that mighty great man, the Governor, begged the Englishmen to come near and converse with him. He wished them to delay their journey to the capital for a couple of days, in order that he might treat them with a dramatic entertainment. They urged the precarious state of the monsoon, and the great anxiety to secure their passage to Hué. He then said that everything should be ready for them, and began at once to issue his instructions. The orders were given on the spot, and our countrymen had an opportunity of seeing how such matters are managed. The governor delivered his commands personally in a high tone of official authority, and twelve or fourteen inferior mandarins received them, standing before him; as soon as he had done speaking, the mandarins made the accustomed obeisance, which consisted in prostrating themselves for several times upon the ground, their faces being prevented from touching the earth only by their joined hands, which were placed before them as they bowed.

In the same neighbourhood some of the gentlemen of Lord Macartney's mission had seen plays many years before. Of these, the late Sir George Staunton has left us the following accounts:—"The gentlemen conducted us to an occasional theatre, where a comedy had been ordered by them, of which the mirth was excited chiefly, as well as could be inferred from the gestures of the actors, by the peevishness of a passionate old man, and the humours of a clown, who appeared to have no small degree of merit in his way. The place was surrounded with crowds of people, and many of them perched upon the boughs of adjoining trees, from which they might see, through an open part of the building, the spectators within doors, about whom they were, in this instance, more curious than about the actors."

It was the 4th of June, the birthday of our good old king, George III. (God bless his memory!), and Lord Macartney and his suite went on shore near Turon Bay, to amuse themselves and keep the festival.

"The ambassador was induced to accept of an entertainment given by the mandarins. On this occasion a grand dinner was provided, after which a play was performed, in a style superior to any that had hitherto been seen. The piece appeared to be a kind of historical opera, in which were the recitative, the air, and the chorus, as regular as upon the Italian stage. Some of the female performers were by no means despicable singers. They all observed time accurately, not only with their voices, but every joint of their hands and feet was obedient to the regular movements of the instruments. Both their string and wind-instruments were very rude, but formed on the same principles, and with a view to produce the same effect, as those in Europe. Such, however, is the force of habit and national attachment, that the performance of the musicians in the service of the ambassador, which was very grateful to the European ear, was not much relished by the Cochin-Chinese.

"The building in which the ambassador was received appeared to have been erected on the occasion. The inside was hung with printed cotton of British manufacture, and the soldiers attending upon the governor of the district, who gave the entertainment, had outside vests of dark red cloth, which likewise, probably, came from England."

On another day the attention of our mission was attracted by what they considered a singular instance of agility in some young men of the country. These young fellows were amusing themselves in the fields with the Chinese game of foot-shuttlecock—a game which has a very wide range in all these parts of the world. Seven or eight of them stood in a circle. They had in their hands no battledoor, nor did they employ the hand or arm in any way in striking the shuttlecock. But, after taking a short run, and springing from the ground, they met the descending shuttlecock with the sole of the foot, and drove it up again, with force, high into the air. It was thus kept up a considerable time, the players seldom missing their stroke, or failing to give it the direction they intended. The shuttlecock was made of a thin piece of dried skin rolled round, and bound with strings. Into this skin were inserted three long feathers, spreading out at the top, but so near to each other, where they were stuck into the skin, as to pass through the holes, little more than a quarter of an inch square, which are always made in the centre of Cochin-Chinese copper coins. Two or three of these coins served as a weight at the bottom of the shuttlecock, and their sound gave notice to the players when it was approaching them.

In fact, these people, like the Siamese and others of their neighbours, may almost be called quadrumanous, or four-handed. The lower, and, at least, some of other ranks, generally go barefooted; and their toes have thus freer motion and more contractile power than those which are always inclosed in shoes, and serve, jointly with the foot, as auxiliaries to the hand and fingers in the exercise of many trades, and particularly in those of house-building and boat-building. If a man drops a tool, he is more likely to pick it up with his toes than with his fingers; if he sees anything in his path, he puts his foot to it, and not his hand.

In the fine evenings of summer they are fond of meeting on their rivers in boats, singing and playing on trumpets. At any season a cock-fight, or a fight of quails, never fails to attract. They are fond of hunting the wild pigs, with which many parts of the country literally swarm. But the common people do not follow up this sport, either with fire-arms or with spears. Having selected a jungle, or some hill covered with brushwood, they place snares, made of strips of the strong hide of the buffalo, round the spot, or at all the issues from it; they then go into the enclosure with packs of mongrel dogs (they have no other), and beat the bush, and make a terrific noise: upon this the wild pigs run out from cover, and are generally caught—or at least some of them—in the snares.

In their idle, and even in their occupied hours, they find amusement and solace in masticating a compound of the areca-nut, betel-pepper, and quick-lime. This mixture, indeed, is hardly ever out of their mouths. They are also addicted, in an extraordinary degree, to the use of tobacco, which they both chew and smoke. For smoking, the tobacco is formed into small cigars, wrapped up in paper. A man of rank or prosperous condition is seldom to be seen without one of these cigars in his mouth. In an in-door sitting the number that they will consume is said to be astounding. Enter one of their houses where a smoking-party is assembled, and you find one dense atmosphere of smoke, through which you must look for some time ere you can hope to discover the company. They have other means of intoxication in addition to those produced by tobacco and the opium-pipe. They are great consumers of a mischievous ardent spirit distilled from rice, and found in every town and village; and although drunkenness is set down as a crime, it is so common, particularly among the more affluent, that it is let pass as a venial offence, or as a peccadillo, which is rather to be laughed at than visited with punishment. The mandarins, however, can keep their dignity in their cups, and it is said that they are never so starch, decorous, and punctilious, as when they can scarcely speak or see across the hall of audience. An official was once observed laying in provisions for a journey up the Saigun river. His stock recalled the memory of Falstaff's tavern bill—a pennyworth of bread to all that sack! Not long ago it was matter of serious debate about the court, whether certain grandees had died of opium-smoking or spirit-drinking. Most probably the cause of death was in the two. The poor, industrious classes, are, of course, too poor to indulge in either to excess, and they are reported to be in the habit of bambooing their wives whenever they detect them in the fact of drinking the spirit or smoking opium. Tobacco they are free to use, either in quids or in cigars. This goes through all ranks of the fair sex. The fashionable ladies of Hué and Saigun appear to smoke nearly as much as their lords and masters. Instead of presenting them with bouquets, their gallants give them bundles of cigars.

The spirit is extracted from rice, by a process described in the journals of the late Sir George Staunton. Their dinner commences with animal food, with pork, beef, or poultry, and the appearance of the first dish is the signal for passing round the glass and getting intoxicated. The dinner invariably terminates with bowls of rice, and these once served, they drink no more spirits. After the repast each guest swallows a copious draft of water, and washes his hands, which must well need ablution, for, like the Chinese, they eat with chopsticks and their fingers. Although in many parts of the country, particularly on the slopes of the inland hills, both soil and climate would be favourable to the growth of the vine (the great corrective to a taste for ardent spirits), they make no wine themselves, and seem to care very little for that which is introduced to them by foreigners, unless it be some of the heavy, strongly-brandied port or sherry manufactured (to our disgrace) for the English market.

Though with scarcely any principles of science to guide them, these people seem to be sufficiently dexterous in turning to good account such substances as promise to be of use or comfort to them in domestic life. Like the Chinese, they are even fond of making experiments and trying new processes. In the culture of their lands, and in the few manufactures exercised among them, they are not far behind nations where the sciences flourish; and, in some instances, they have fallen upon processes not used elsewhere, though more convenient or effectual than those which are. One of these processes, to purify sugar after the gross syrup had been drained from it, was much admired by Sir John Barrow. It is admitted on all hands that their agriculture is conducted with great care, skill, and neatness. The fields or different properties are separated from each other by small canals or trenches, usually filled with running water, and by the side of each trench there is generally a narrow but very neat footpath. Tobacco, rice, and sugar-canes are commonly seen growing in different divisions of the same field. The houses, which are low, and chiefly built of bamboos, and covered with rushes or with the straw of rice, are generally interspersed with trees. Many of the best buildings are in the centre of gardens planted with graceful areca-nut trees, and other pleasing or useful shrubs. In the rear of the towns there are usually groves of oranges, limes, plantains, and areca-nut trees, in the midst of which a few pleasant little summer-houses usually show themselves. To the grounds which cannot be irrigated by the rivers, canals, and trenches, water is conveyed in earthen jars by the farmer and his family. Of rice, which is the most general object of cultivation, besides that species which requires to be sown in lands that are afterwards inundated, there is another kind, much grown in the country. It is called mountain rice, or dry rice: it thrives in dry light soils, mostly on the sides of hills, and opened by the spade, and it requires no more moisture than that which is supplied by the usual rains and dews, neither of which are frequent or heavy at the season of its vegetation. Nearly everywhere near the sea-coasts our European travellers have found the markets of even small towns most plentifully supplied with all the vegetable produce of tropical climates,—with yams, sweet potatoes, greens of various kinds, pumpkins, melons, sugar-canes, hogs, and poultry, particularly ducks. Among other fowls is the "black-bellied darter," a kind of bird, so called from its real or supposed propensity to dart its sharp long beak at any shining object near it, particularly into any eye turned towards it. On this account these birds are brought to market with their eyelids sewn together, that they may be deprived of the opportunity of seeing the eyes of those who come to purchase them. Sugar being so very cheap, sweetmeats and syrups are found in all the markets in great quantities.

September, October, and November are the season of rains. The lowlands are then overflowed by water, which descends from the mountains in the interior and swells all the numerous rivers. The inundations have the same effect here as the periodical overflowings of the Nile in Egypt, and they render this country one of the most fruitful of the globe. In many parts the land produces three crops of grain in the year. Were industry promoted instead of being checked by a stupid, rapacious, tyrannical government, the produce of these regions might be rapidly trebled or quadrupled in amount. Setting aside the influence which the country, in the hands of a foreign power, might be made to exercise on our possessions in India, Anam, in a general view, must be allowed to be excellently well adapted to commerce. Its vicinity to China, Siam, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Borneo, Sumatra, and Malacca, renders the intercourse with all these countries short and easy. The commodious harbours with which the coast is indented or intersected, beyond any other country, afford a safe retreat for ships of any burden, during the most tempestuous seasons of the year.

Our travellers have found but few traces of painting in the country, and the native sculpture is very barbarous, being exclusively employed on josses or idols, which must all be made after one fixed, unchangeable pattern, and which are here very generally of mean dimensions.

They pride themselves on their music, but they prefer importing their pictures and statues from other countries.

In the mechanical arts they have a good deal of dexterity, together with that facility of imitation which has been noticed in the Chinese, and which appears to be common to all these races of men. The beautiful brass cannon cast in the arsenal of Hué, after models furnished by the French, are described as most extraordinary specimens of their skill. After his unsuccessful mission, Mr. Crawfurd, being at Singapore, sent to his old friend the Minister of Elephants a highly-finished double-barrelled English fowling-piece. In the course of a fortnight the English piece was returned, along with another double-barrelled gun, fabricated within that short time in the king's arsenal. The imitation was so perfect, that it was very difficult, at first sight, to distinguish the copy from the model; but when the piece came to be used its inferiority and many defects were made apparent. The gun-lock was all but useless. Their clever artisans are ignorant of the methods of tempering iron and steel; they are, therefore, quite incapable of manufacturing a useful gun-lock; and, with all their dexterity in imitation, they still depended (only a few years ago) upon Europeans and Americans for their supply of fire-arms. M. Chaigneau, who knew the country and the people so well, says—"Their iron tools are always too soft or too brittle. They work better in copper; the reason is obvious, the copper is always prepared to their hands by the Chinese, who certainly excel them in all these arts! As to gold and silver, their artificers succeed in filagree, without being able to give their work the requisite polish. If, however, in these arts and in others, the Cochin-Chinese are little advanced, it is not for want either of intelligence or address. They want only models and instructors. Do not expect invention from them, but be assured that their talent for imitation will never be at fault. It is thus that, instructed by the French, they have perfected to an extraordinary degree their naval and military architecture. You would suppose their royal galleys came from some European dockyard, if their sails of matting, their cordage of the roots of trees or the husk of the cocoa-nut, and the thickness of their planks, did not indicate a foreign construction. Their cannon foundry is another proof of the sagacity with which they know how to profit by instruction and example. King Kia-long, desiring to leave to posterity some memorials of his reign, caused nine cannon to be cast, carrying each a ninety-pound ball, and the experiment succeeded completely."

But even the boats of native, unimproved construction, are ingeniously put together. They consist of five long planks only, joined together without ribs or timbers of any kind. These planks are bent to the proper shape, by being exposed some time to the action of a slow fire; they are brought to a line at each end, and the edges are strongly joined together with wooden pins, and stitched with bamboo split into flexile threads; and the seams are afterwards smeared with a paste made with quick-lime from pounded sea-shells and water. Others, used on the rivers, are made of wicker-work (like the coracles of the ancient Britons), smeared all over and rendered water-tight by the same composition as is used for the larger boats. The owners invariably paint large staring eyes upon the heads of all their boats, to denote the vigilance requisite in the conduct of them. The Chinese do the same with their junks. "Not have eye, how him see?" — say the boatmen on the Canton river. The better class of these Cochin-Chinese boats are remarkable for standing the sudden shock of violent waves, for being stiff upon the water, and for sailing expeditiously.

The boat belonging to the great mandarin is built upon the same plan, but on a larger scale, and with decorations: it has a carved and gilt head, bearing some resemblance to that of a tiger; and its stern is carved and painted with a variety of bright colours. The seat of honour in these boats is at the stem, and not at the stern, as with us. The men stand to their work, and push their oars from them; thus looking the way they are rowing. Mr. Crawfurd thus describes the vessels which carried him and his suite up the Hué river to the capital:—"During our voyage, we had an opportunity of examining our conveyances, and observing the discipline of the crews. Our galleys were the regular war-boats of the king: they were not less than ninety feet long, but very narrow in proportion; they were strongly built, and their rigging consisted of two lugsails: they had each five large swivels, as handsomely cast and modelled as any European cannon, but they were intended to carry many more. Their crew consisted of forty rowers, besides the commander and officers, all well and uniformly clothed. The discipline observed on board was more strict and regular than I could have imagined: the rowers plied incessantly, and in perfect unison—an officer beating time by striking against each other two cylindrical sticks of sonorous wood, and cheering them with a song. All communication between one galley and another was made by sound of trumpet; and, while lying at anchor, a regular watch was kept, and the sentries challenged at intervals. Every soldier is supplied with a pair of the sonorous sticks, and with these the challenge is given and answered by the sentinels." On the right hand of the river they found a strong neatly-built fort, meant to command the entrance; but the guns were mounted in barbette, or without any parapets or embrasures. The breadth of the river at its mouth is about 400 yards. It continues of a considerable size throughout, but as it approaches the capital it shallows, and above that city it is suited only for boats. Pilot-boats were in readiness, where they were wanted.

The great fortress of Hué, called the "New City," is at a short distance from the old or unfortified town. It is of a quadrangular form, and is completely insulated, having the river on two sides of it, and a spacious and broad canal on the other two. The circumference of the walls is upwards of five

English miles. The great king, Kia-long, was himself the engineer who formed the plan, under the instruction and advice of the French officers who were in his service, but whose personal assistance he had almost entirely lost before he commenced the undertaking in the year 1805. Both the materials and the workmanship are said to be admirable. The fortress has a regular and beautiful glacis, extending from the river or canal to the inner ditch, which has from four to five feet water in it, and which is about thirty yards broad. The fortress has also a covered way all round. The rampart is built of hard earth, cased on the outside with bricks. Each angle is flanked by four bastions, intended to mount thirty-six guns a-piece, some in embrasures and some in barbette. To each face there are also four arched gateways of solid masonry, to which the approach across the moat is by handsome arched stone bridges. The area inside is laid out in regular and spacious streets, running at right angles to each other. Water is distributed through them by canals, which give easy access by boats to the palace, the arsenal, the granaries, and other public edifices. The royal palace is situated within a strong citadel, consisting of two distinct walls or ramparts, within which strangers are not allowed to enter. The roof of the palace itself is distinguishable outside by its bright yellow colour, and near it stands a temple, taller and handsomer than usual. The temple is dedicated to the ancestors of the king, and is the one solitary temple in the new city; yet no priests are attached to it. In the whole of this extensive fortification Mr. Crawfurd could scarcely detect anything slovenly, barbarous, or incomplete in design. The barracks are described as excellent. In point of arrangement and cleanliness they would do no discredit to the best organised army in Europe. They are extensive, and surround the whole of the outer part of the citadel. Our travellers were informed that about 12,000 troops were constantly kept here. But that which most astonished them was the Arsenal. The iron cannon were first pointed out, consisting of an extraordinary assemblage of old ship-guns of various European nations—Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French. They then passed on to the brass ordnance, the balls, and shells, all manufactured on the spot by native workmen, from materials supplied by

Tonquin, and after models furnished by the French. There were cannon, howitzers, and mortars. The cannon were of various calibres, from 4 to 68-pounders, with a large proportion of 18-pounders. The gun-carriages were all constructed, finished, and painted, as substantially and neatly as if they had been manufactured at Woolwich. The art of casting good brass cannon, under the guidance of Europeans, must have been long known, for among the guns in the arsenal were a good many as old as the years 1664 and 1665. These bore an inscription in the Portuguese language, importing that they were cast in the country, and giving the dates and the name of the artist. Although very inferior indeed to those cast in the present century, under the direction of the French officers, they were yet considered by our visitors as very good specimens of workmanship. The balls and shells in the arsenal were neatly piled up and arranged in the European method. To supply all the works would require the enormous number of 800 pieces. It was thought probable that the arsenal, counting all sorts, contained considerably more than 1000 pieces. Much could not be said of the professional acquirements and accomplishments of the head-artillerist, who, most probably, knew not how to work the beautiful brass guns of which he had charge. Besides being chief of the arsenal and artillery, this master-general of the ordnance was also intendant of the royal household, and in this last capacity he was charged with many details scarcely compatible with his military character. It was his business, for example, to superintend the king's kitchen, and to make a registry of all the pregnancies and births within the seraglio. When he failed in any of his multifarious duties he was bambooed, just like the rest of the mandarins. On quitting the immense works, Mr. Crawfurd remarks, " It is hardly necessary to say, that against an Asiatic enemy this fortification is impregnable. Its great fault is its immense extent. I presume it would require an army of 50,000 men, at least, to defend it;—a force which would be far more effectually employed in harassing a European enemy (the only enemy to be apprehended), by those common desultory modes of warfare which it is alone safe for an Asiatic enemy to oppose to a disciplined army. A European force, either by making regular approaches or by a bombardment, could not fail to render itself soon master of the place; and this occurrence, by putting it in possession of the treasure, the granaries, and the principal arsenal of the kingdom, — by destroying the principal army, and thus cutting off all the resources of the kingdom,—would be virtually equivalent to conquering the kingdom at a single blow."

The citadel of Saigun, on the river of that name, though very neat, is immeasurably inferior to that of Hué. Its works have been left incomplete. The river is deep enough to carry large ships. One angle of the fortress approaches so near to the river, that a European ship of war might breach it in a very short time. The other fortresses of the country seem to be still weaker and more exposed.

The population appears to be rather diffused over the country in many small towns and innumerable villages, than to be concentrated in great cities. The highest estimate we have seen does not carry the inhabitants of Hué, the capital, above 60,000, and Saigun — by situation and the convenience of its river the best place for trade — appears to be still less populous. All are agreed that the climate of Hué is very healthy, that the neighbouring country would be very pleasant if there were more bridges to cross the streams and canals, and that the town itself would be a pleasant sojourn if a little more attention were paid to comfort in the construction and distribution of the houses. As far as the materials for good eating are concerned, there is no ground of complaint. Both Hué and Saigun are places of plenty—little Goshens for the gourmand. Our last envoy, who, as a diplomatist, ought to be a judge of good living, says:—

"The markets afford the necessaries and even comforts of life in great plenty and cheapness. For hogs and for poultry, the latter consisting of geese, ducks, and common fowls, the soil and climate appear to be peculiarly favourable. A hog weighing 200lbs. may be had for seven Spanish dollars, which is less than twopence a-pound; ducks and common fowls are found in greater perfection here than in any other part of India, being remarkable both for size and flavour. The first, which are in great demand among the Cochin-Chinese themselves, may be had eight for a Spanish dollar; and of fowls, which are hardly ever eaten by the natives, twenty-four or twenty-five may be had for the same money.

The latter are all of the game breed. The Cochin-Chinese are great cock-fighters; his excellency, the present governor, fights cocks regularly twice a-month, and invites the chiefs to be present. Goats are in considerable numbers, and the sheep, an animal which seldom prospers in the damp climates near the equator, thrives tolerably at Saigun. The race is a hardy breed, similar to that of Lower Bengal. They are much more cheap and abundant, however, I am given to understand, at Kang-kao, in Kamboja, than at Saigun. The buffalo and the ox are both of them very good, and very cheap, and may be had in any quantity. The variety and the excellence of the fish can scarcely be equalled. Besides river-fish, great quantities of sea-fish are brought up fresh for the market of Saigun; the largest kind being conveyed by dragging them after the boats, and the smaller in wells in their bottoms. During our short stay we were daily supplied from the ordinary markets with the three best fish which the Indian seas afford, the cockup, the pomfret, and the mango fish, all exquisite in their kind. There are, however, besides the articles now enumerated, others exhibited for sale in the markets of Saigun, not so well suited to the European taste, such as the flesh of dogs and alligators."

SIAM.

Although contiguous, and in good part inhabited by cognate races, and following the same religions or idolatries, Siam differs in many important particulars from Anam, or Cochin-China. In the first place, it is a much more extensive and a far less populous country. The superiority in size is made up, not by *length* but *breadth*; Anam, as we have stated, being everywhere narrow, while Siam is about half as broad as it is long.

The present Siamese empire is composed mainly of these several parts:—1. Siam Proper, or the original seat of the Siamese race before they began their conquests and annexations. 2. A large portion of the hill regions of Lao. 3. A portion of Kamboja, which old and once independent kingdom they divide with the Anamese. 4. Certain islands and tributary Malay states.—This empire extends from 5° north latitude to about 21°; its longitude is roundly estimated at from 98° to 106°, its length thus being no less than 16°, and its breadth 8°: or say, in round numbers, the whole country with its annexations measures 1000 by 500 English miles. Its area has been variously estimated, but it may be taken at about 200,000 of our miles. As far as regards size, Siam must, therefore, be ranked among the greatest empires of the East.

But by far the greater portion of this far-extending country is rugged and mountainous, its wonderful fruitfulness, with most of its dense population, being confined pretty well to the valleys of the rivers and to a few alluvial plains, whereon, to procure rich harvests, little more is needed than to scratch the earth and throw in the seeds. One great primitive chain of mountains intersects nearly the whole of the country from north to south, towering in many places from 4000 to 6000 feet above the level of the sea. These regions are drained by three great streams, which are all navigable, and each of which has almost innumerable tributaries and feeders, which descend from the high-lands in the interior, and abundantly water the low-lands. The most important, by far, of the three great rivers is the Menam; because it is admirably suited to the purposes of navigation and trade; because it flows past Bang-kok, the capital city, and traverses the whole empire; and, lastly, because the Siamese have an entire and exclusive possession of its course from the remote Yun-nan mountains, among which it rises, to its embouchure on the ocean. This water-course is believed to exceed 800 miles, of which Europeans are acquainted only with the first 80 miles as you ascend from the sea. At that distance up the river stands Yuthia, the ancient capital, and above that point the Menam is less known to us than was the Niger twenty-five years ago. At Yuthia it is a magnificent navigable stream, and this character it maintains until it empties itself by three separate channels, or mouths, into the great Gulf of Siam. Of these three mouths, only the largest, which lies to the east, is navigable by European ships of any burden; and this one (like the rivers of Cochin-China), is somewhat impeded by sand-banks. In the upper parts of the Menam, flat-bottomed boats and large rafts loaded with timber make long voyages during or just after the season of rain. In August and September they start from a place called Chang-mai, whence it takes them two months to reach Bang-kok. In the months of November and December the river is quite crowded with them. Many of the boats and rafts, besides wood and bamboo, bring down native manufactures and produce of various kinds. They are generally covered over with sheds, which protect the cargoes and serve as dwelling-places for the navigators and traders, and other passengers.

The second great stream, the river of Kamboja, belongs rather to Cochin-China than to Siam, which has the command of its course for a comparatively short distance. The third river, the Martaban, though it washes part of the country, is merely a portion of the frontier which divides Siam from the Burman and British territories. At the present moment it may be said to belong rather to Great Britain than either to Siam or to the Burman empire; for, ever since 1825, all the lower part of it has been in possession of British commerce, and now our war-steamers are upon it and accurately surveying it for the first time.

The portions of the country best known to Europeans are, of course, those which lie nearest to the sea. Beginning with the east coast of Siam, the southern limit of the empire, we find the island of Ko-kong, which is inhabited by a curious mixture of Siamese, Kambojans, Anamese, and Chinese, who have erected considerable towns. Nearly opposite, on the continent, is Chantabun, a place of considerable trade, situated on a pleasant but shallow river. Here, too, there are many industrious Chinese settlers, chiefly engaged in the cultivation of pepper. Not far from the mouth of the river there are said to be good shelter and good anchorage for European shipping. The mass of the inhabitants of this part of the country are of a distinct and curious race, called Chong, who have a language of their own. The country is for the most part hilly and mountainous, very thinly peopled, but nearly covered with forests, which afford rosewood, excellent bark, dye-wood, and timber for ship-building; among which, however, teak is not included. To the northward is the deep bay of Kong-ka-ben, with an extensive neighbouring country, which is a mere wilderness. Then occurs a long group or chain of islands, among which is Ko-kram, or Indigo island, thinly peopled by Cochin-Chinese. All these isles and islets are much frequented by turtle, the eggs of which are sent fresh to Bang-kok, where they constitute an article of revenue to the government. Bang-pa-soe is a considerable town on the Main; it is surrounded by a wooden stockade, and is considered by the Siamese as a sort of barrier against the Cochin-Chinese. Many of these towns are stockaded in the like manner, but the bamboos and old planks seem fitter to defend the inhabitants from wild animals than to secure them against an armed enemy. Here, for an immense way, the country is a low alluvial land of wonderful fertility, most productive in rice and sugar-cane, like similar regions in Anam. A considerable river, called the Bang-pa-kung, navigable for small vessels, runs through it, and the banks of this stream are said to be quite as fertile and highly cultivated as those of the Menam at Bang-kok. There then occurs a long tract of forest-land, of no value but for the firewood which it furnishes to the capital. At Yi-sam cultivation and fertility re-appear, and the country becomes tolerably peopled. Here there is another river, and upon it, at the distance of ten hours' journey from the sea, is the town of Pri-pri, a place of considerable size, with fortifications of masonry. Its surrounding district is populous, well cultivated with rice, and productive of palm-sugar, which is largely exported. The river, however, is inaccessible to vessels of any considerable burden. From the point of Kwi to Cape Romania, embracing nearly 11° of latitude, and, with very partial exceptions, the whole breadth of the peninsula, the country is mountainous, poor, and very thinly peopled. Yet here tin and *gold* are said to be widely disseminated. If our accounts are correct, gold is to be found in nearly all these mountains. We next come to a succession of small towns, with districts that are thinly peopled, but abounding in fine sapan wood. From one of these towns, named Mu-ang-mai, there is a military road towards Mergui, constructed about sixty years ago by the King of Siam, for the purpose of invading the Burman territory. It is said to be easily practicable for elephants, and in some measure even for wheel-carriages. As we now hold Mergui and all the neighbouring country, it is to be hoped that our officers are acquainted with the existence of this road. Not very far from it occur two small towns, Bang-taphan and Pat-yu: at the first gold-dust is procured by washing, and at the second there is a considerable shrimp fishery. The shrimps are manufactured into the condiment called by the Malays *blachang*, an article of exportation. Beyond this is a river named Tayung, and four hours up the river is another considerable town, in a country which produces tin, ship-timber, and excellent rattans. Between Pumring and Bandon the country becomes much more productive, and better peopled. Here there is another river, navigable to junks. Off the coast there is an immense sand-bank, where the natives carry on a very profitable fishery in prawns, crabs, and other shell-fish. Another shallow river leads to the town of Ligor, a place of some trade, with a brick fort and about 5000 inhabitants, the most industrious of which are Chinese settlers. Two or three Chinese junks annually visit the place, to sell or exchange their goods for tin, black pepper, rattans, &c. Except in the shape of gold-dust, found in the rapid streams which descend from the high-lands, gold disappears wherever fertility and agricultural industry reappear. Talung is a town six hours' journey up another river; its neighbourhood is said to be tolerably productive, and to have been at one time populous; but the extortion and oppression of the Siamese government, which is by many degrees worse than the Anamese government, have driven many of the inhabitants out of the country. Of these, not a few have found shelter under the English flag in Prince of Wales's Island. Sungora, called by the Siamese Sungkla, is the most southerly Siamese district or province. Here the country is said to be poor and unproductive. The town is situated partly on the continent, and partly on the contiguous island of Tantalem: it has a trade with Chinese junks in tin, pepper, some rice, and a quantity of the valuable sapan-wood. Taná is the last station, and forms the boundary between Siam Proper and the Malay country.

The islands on the western coast of the islands of Siam are far less numerous than those on the eastern coast, and all the smaller ones are either uninhabited or thinly sprinkled with poor hungry Malays, who grow a little rice, and take a turn at piracy when the opportunity offers. The island marked Pulo Sancori on our charts is in this predicament. Ko-Samui is larger and much better peopled; its inhabitants are Siamese and Chinese from the island of Haenan: the latter carry on a considerable traffic, loading annually from ten to fifteen junks with cotton, the principal produce of the island, preserved shrimps and other fish, esculent swallows' nests for soup, and a few other commodities.

On the shores of the Straits of Malacca and Bay of Bengal, the proper Siamese territory extends from Lungu to Pak-Chan, a distance of about 260 English miles, including a great many more islands. In general, this extensive tract of country is a thinly-inhabited wilderness, dense jungle overspreading the spots where considerable towns formerly stood. Even in wilder parts of the empire, an attentive survey would bring to light remains or traces of many towns which at some period, more or less remote, must have been considerable in extent and population. Could the echo of those savage wilds shape an answer to the question, "Why all this desolation?" the answer would be, "Ruthless wars and conquests, tyranny and oppression!" The most populous portion of this territory is the island of Salang, called by us Junk-Ceylon, which holds jurisdiction over seven districts, extending as far as our former British frontier in Burmah. The island of Junk-Ceylon, as well as some of its dependent districts, produces and trades in tin.

The proper country of the Siamese race is the valley of the Menam. This valley is perhaps nowhere above 60 miles in breadth. but its length is so great that its area is calculated at 22,000 square miles. It is everywhere closed in by mountains, of which a range to the east divides it from the valley of the great river of Kamboja. It is not, however, quite clear that the Menam has not some communication with the Kamboja. The largest towns of Siam Proper are Bang-kok, the modern capital; Yuthia, the ancient capital; and Pi-sa-luk. Bang-kok extends along the banks of the Menam to the distance of about two miles and a half; but it is of no great breadth, and does not probably contain more than 40,000 inhabitants. The old capital is still the most populous place in the kingdom next to Bang-kok, but of its population, or of that of Pi-sa-luk, we have seen no estimate or even conjecture.

High up the Menam you come to a portion of the country of the Lao, with some of the tribes of which we became acquainted in our first Burmese war, 1824–25. These people speak a dialect of the Siamese language, but their country appears to be pretty equally divided between the Siamese, the Chinese, and the Burmans. At least, it is composed of petty states paying tribute to those three powers. Some of their traders, who navigate the Menam in small canoes, carry down to Bang-kok iron, copper, gold dust, and gold in ingots; but it is believed, that at least a portion of these metals are originally procured in the mountainous Chinese province of Yun-nan. The Siamese reckon, in all their portion of Lao, 121 towns, large and small. The inhabitants are called Shyan by the Burmans, and Lao by the Chinese; but they call themselves Tai. They are of the Tartar race, and appear to be the parent stock of both the Siamese and the Anamese: they are said to be a more civilised people than the Burmans; mild, humane, intelligent, and, when not overrun by their neighbours, rather prosperous. Some of their tribes still adhere to the ancient demon-worship, but most of them are Buddhists. A recent French writer has described several of their towns as having populations of 15,000 or 20,000 quiet, industrious people. Their country abounds with all sorts of wild animals, as elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, bears, boars, wild oxen, buffaloes, elks, deer, &c. Crocodiles are not rare, and birds of every kind are innumerable.

Of the kingdom of Kamboja the greater part is subject or tributary to Cochin-China; but Siam possesses a very extensive province, named Batabang. It was as late as the year 1809 that the dismemberment of Kamboja was effected. There is, however, still a king in a part of the country, who governs under the control of a Cochin-Chinese mandarin, with a Cochin-Chinese army. People in England have been quite recently made acquainted with the existence of this potentate—whose power can be little more than nominal—by the execution of an order he sent, indirectly, to Birmingham for the manufacture of a set of dies wherewith to stamp Kamboja coin.

The Malayan states tributary to Siam are Queda, on the western coast, with Patani, Kalantan, and Tringano, on the east. With the exception of Queda and Patani, of which they have nearly assumed the direct administration, the Siamese have but little authority over these tributaries. Every three years the Malayan princes send to Bang-kok, as tribute, a flower, or small tree, made of gold and silver; they are bound to contribute men, money, and provisions, when Siam is at war, but it appears that they never keep this engagement unless the Siamese be in a condition to force them, which is believed not to happen frequently.

The number of Chinese settlers, including their families, which must be of a mixed race, is estimated as high as half a million of souls. These Chinese come from Yunnan by Lao and the Menam river, and by sea from the provinces of Canton and Fokien, and from the island of Haenan. Their laws against quitting their own country prevent their bringing wives or families with them. They soon intermarry with the Siamese, there being no antipathy or scruple on either side. With their pliant consciences and their negation of any fixed principles of faith, they adopt, "whatever may have been their religion before, or whether they had any or not," the Buddhist form of worship, visiting the Siamese temples, giving the usual alms to the talapoins or priests, and even taking their turn, for a limited period, in the priesthood themselves, for nearly every good Siamese subject must be a talapoin at one time or other. It is said, however, that their passion for trading, bartering, speculating, and money-making, renders them very impatient of the inactivity and seclusion of the priestly life. They even forego their national partiality for costly funerals and sepulchral monuments, and burn their dead like the Siamese. Returning home one day from an excursion on the Menam, the gentlemen of Mr. Crawfurd's mission had their attention attracted by a Chinese, who was all alone, stirring up some embers within the inclosure of a temple, with an instrument resembling a pitchfork. On landing, they found that he was completing the funeral rites of a relative. He was stirring the fire to complete the destruction of some of the larger bones, and was either cheering or consoling himself at his labour with a song! These Chinese composed about one-half of the population of Bang-kok. It was reported that there were 20,000 more of them within the tributary Malay States, engaged in trade, or in smelting and working gold and silver. They are all made to pay a capitation-tax.

Now and then some Anamese flock into the country and settle there. A Siamese chief pointed out the fact as a proof of the superiority of his own government, saying that there were no Siamese, under similar circumstances, in Anam. This last fact was quite true, but the inference was not correct: bad as is the government of Anam, that of Siam is indisputably worse. The reason why the Anamese emigrated was this,—there was far more room in depopulated Siam than in their own well-peopled country.

There are also in Siam a considerable number of settlers from the southern peninsula of India. There are a very few Hindus among them, but by far the greater part are Mohammedans, whose faith has so little hold upon them that they make many sacrifices and compliances in order to conciliate the Siamese. When they have any point to carry, they will even make offerings at the temples of Buddha, and give their daughters in marriage to the infidels. They have nine mosques at Bang-kok, all very poor buildings. There is, moreover, a small Christian or semi-Christian community in the new and in the old capital. These are either descendants of Portuguese, or persons assuming the Portuguese name. Most probably the major part are descended from native converts, whose blood was more or less mixed with the Portuguese. They are as dark in colour as the Siamese themselves, and a good deal darker than the Chinese settlers. They are mostly engaged as interpreters; they are all indigent, but said to be very inoffensive.

Another small element of population (perhaps from 30,000 to 40,000 in all) is made up by immigrants from Pegu. It is rather difficult to conceive a more oppressive, cruel, and expulsive government than that of Siam; yet it appears that the Burman government can be worse: for it was in order to escape from the Monarch of the Golden Foot that these poor Peguans, not many years ago, drove their cattle before them, and took refuge in the dominions of the Sovereign Lord of the White Elephant. This exodus was attended by striking circumstances. The plan was arranged and preparations made beforehand, signals were communicated from hill to hill by fires, and on the same night, and at the same hour of the night, the emigrants, with their wives and children, their oxen and ponies, with such other property as they could convey, began their silent, stealthy march towards the Siamese territories, the parties nearest taking the lead, and the others following in one long but broken line of march. Had they met as one united body, their intended movement would have been discovered, and they would have been surrounded and driven back by the Burman troops.

Counting all races, settlers and dependants, no estimate carries the population of this immense empire quite up to 3,000,000, of which considerably less than one-half is true Siamese.

A Mohammedan prince of India, called by the early French writers the King of Golconda, sent an ambassador to Siam in the seventeenth century. This officer landed at Mergui, and crossed the immense wilderness which lies between that place and Yuthia, which was then the capital of Siam. One of the Siamese ministers afterwards rallied him on the small extent of his master's dominions, in comparison with those of the Great King. The Indian ambassador replied, that it was true his master's dominions were small, but they were inhabited by men; whereas the territories of his Siamese majesty were for the most part peopled by monkeys!

"The checks to population," says Mr. Crawfurd, "in a country of which the land is often fertile and always abundant, the communication generally easy, and the climate favourable, may be described at once to be comprised in *barbarism and bad government*." The military conscription is one great check, and the disproportionate, astonishingly great number of the priesthood, who live upon alms and do no manner of work, is another. And here is one of the great differences between two neighbouring countries to which we have made allusion; while the Anamese or Cochin-Chinese seem to think that they cannot have too few unproductive talapoins or bonzes, the Siamese act as if they thought they could not possess too many. The number of these *fainéans* in Bang-kok alone was reported to be 5000, their total number throughout the kingdom was said to be 50,000, which would make nearly a fortieth part of the entire Buddhist population.

Such increase of population as might have been expected to arise of late years, during which the country has been comparatively in a state of peace, has been prevented by the two great scourges of small-pox and cholera morbus. It very probably may have existed before under another name, or unknown to the nations of the West, but it is generally stated that the cholera is a recent calamity, which first made its appearance in Siam in the year 1820, after having ravaged Hindustan for the three preceding years. According to a native officer, it travelled along the coast to the mouth of the Menam river, and then up that river to the capital, where in fifteen days of its intense fury it carried off a fifth part of the inhabitants. The deaths were so frequent and sudden, that there was no time for the usual funeral rites, and the bodies were thrown by hundreds into the Menam, and were seen floating down the stream like rafts of timber. The epidemic eventually spread to the Lao country on the one side, and to Kamboja and Cochin-China on the other. In its full range it extended from Arabia to China, over 90° of longitude, and from Java to the Himalaya mountains, over 40° of latitude.

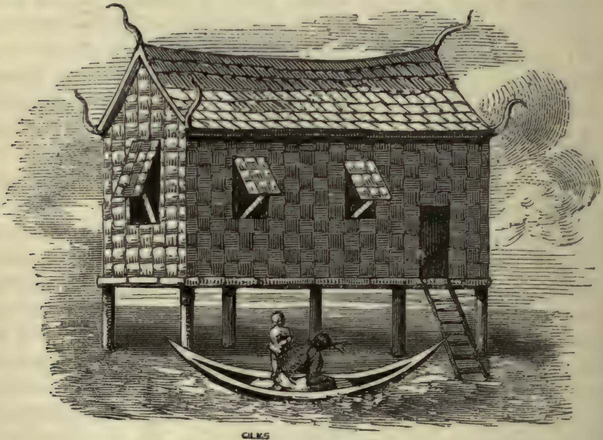
A Chinese philosopher settled on the banks of the Menam, who must have been thinking of his own over-peopled country, and not of depopulated Siam or Pegu, consoled himself with this reflection:—The great war in which the principal nations of the world had been engaged had recently ceased, and therefore cholera morbus came in as a necessary arrangement of nature for keeping down population to the level of subsistence.

But little is known of the country in the interior except that its mountains and forests afford an asylum to innumerable elephants and other wild animals. These lofty ranges are distinctly seen from parts of the gulfs, and some of their singularly-shaped peaks afford excellent land-marks. Roads or tracks, however, exist across these highlands, which must lead to inhabited districts. Some of the mountaineers find their way to Bang-kok, and to other towns on the Menam. They are described by a recent English visitor as a fine, robust, healthy-looking set of men and women, and, for the country, almost handsome, their half-brass, half-copper-colour cheeks being tinged by the crimson hue of health.*

The animals and chief productions of Siam have been already enumerated. They appear to comprise nearly all those which .exist in Anam and the neighbouring countries, without presenting any variety that has yet been noticed. The horse, though small, is said to be, like the pony of Pegu and some parts of Ava, a spirited, nimble, and strong animal. The elephant is much used in trade as well as in war, and but for the patience, labour, and ingenuity required for taming and training them, they might have almost any number of these huge animals. They ride upon buffaloes and oxen, as well as upon ponies and elephants. The ass, so superior an animal in many parts of the East, appears to be wholly unknown. A good deal of the country near the rivers appears to be dreadfully infested by mosquitoes, as large, fierce, and sanguinary as those which are now tormenting, almost out of their senses, our poor European soldiers in the marshes and jungle of Rangoon. The banks of the Menam river are in some places literally overrun with snakes, toads, great frogs, and lizards. At Bang-kok the houses are infested by the same reptiles. The tokay is described as a very large, ugly-coloured, disgusting kind of lizard, which is peculiar to Bang-kok, and which intrudes everywhere, making a shrill cry of "Tokay! Tokay! Tokay!" Hence its name. It is nocturnal in its habits, is fond of frequenting dwelling-houses in the wet season, and is a very unpleasant and startling visitor in the silence of night, in the sleeping apartment of a stranger, who by chance may not previously have heard of its existence. But the deluging season of rains brings all manner of reptiles and creeping things into the houses of Bang-kok—not excepting black snakes, ten or more feet long. It appears, however, that none of the snakes or other reptiles are dangerously venomous.

---

* F. A. Neale, formerly in the service of his Siamese majesty, "Narrative of a Residence in Siam, &c." London, 1852.



Siamese River-House.

The birds of the country are described as exceedingly numerous, and many of them as very beautiful. In the gardens and groves on the banks of the Menam, a few miles higher up than Bang-kok, the variety of the plumed tribes is described as singularly amusing. Immense flights of paroquets scream and chatter overhead, and the fine, large, blue mountain pigeon cooes to his timid mate from every tree. Fire a gun, or make any sudden noise, and the birds arise from the groves, and make a cloud or canopy between you and the sun. In domestic poultry, the Siamese have the same stock as the people of Anam; but their domestic fowl, though good, is inferior both as to size and flavour. Ducks are uncommonly numerous and cheap, and form a favourite dish of all classes. A beautiful kind of pheasant, called the "fire-backed pheasant," is abundant in Siam; and the dependent Malayan provinces produce a delicate and beautiful bird, resembling a diminutive peacock. This used to be called "the double-spurred peacock;" but it has been erected into a new genus, under the name of *Polyplectron bicalcuratus.* It is doubtful whether Siam itself, or the provinces lying north and east of it, produce any pheasant except the "fire-backed pheasant;" but in its Malayan tributaries are found the common fire-pheasant, the Argus pheasant, and, in great abundance, two undescribed species of this bird, of which preserved specimens may be seen in the Museum at the East India House. The Malay fire-pheasant is a beautiful, large, bold bird, and thought to be quite hardy enough to be naturalised in England. The grey partridge, so frequent in Hindustan, is not to be found in the lower parts of Siam (the only parts frequented by Europeans), but it is very common in the adjacent Malayan countries. There are water-fowl of many sorts. Pelicans are numerous. The goose is not found, either wild or in its domestic state. Along the rivers and innumerable rivulets, marshes, and mires, the shooting is said to be excellent. Feathers form a material branch of trade with China. Those most frequently exported are the feathers of the peacock, the king-fisher, the blue jay, the pelican, the crane, and the stork.

The fish of the rivers, though not much praised for its general flavour, is exceedingly abundant, and much used by the poorer natives. The sea-coasts and the dependent Malay promontories and islands afford better supplies. In the lower part of the Menam river, neither the tortoise nor the alligator is nearly so common as in the Ganges. Among insects, the only one considered as deserving mention for its utility (many might be mentioned for the beauty of their colours) is the *Caccus lacca*, called in Siamese, *krang*, which produces the valuable dye and gum called lac in commerce, and which assumed some years ago much importance from the discovery in Bengal of a cheap process for obtaining a valuable colouring matter from it. The lac of Siam is of very superior quality, containing a larger portion of colouring matter than that either of Bengal or Pegu. Mr. Crawfurd was informed by the Siamese, that in some parts of the country the *Caccus lacca*, or lac insect, is bred and reared as the *Caccus cacti*, which affords the cochineal of commerce, is in Mexico.

Although not found in the lower provinces, there are teak forests in the upper country, and the timber is said to be excellent. The situation of these forests appears to correspond in latitude with the best of those of Ava and of Martaban, the most abundant of which may now be called British property. The Siamese make great use of teak in the construction of junks, and in building their numerous temples. Other parts of the country afford a valuable and beautiful timber, usually called redwood. The tree grows to a large size. The wood is of a deep red colour, finely grained, and receiving a high polish; the Chinese carry it away in large quantities for cabinet work, and if imported into England it would no doubt find a ready market for the same purpose. The sapan-tree has been already named. It is very abundant in the Siamese forests, where it grows to the height of fifty or sixty feet, and attains to a girth of six feet or more. It is chiefly valuable for the red dye which it yields. It is principally sent to China, but of late considerable quantities have been shipped for Bengal and for Europe. The eagle or aloes wood, which has so delightful a scent, appears to be quite as common in Siam as in Cochin-China, and is produced both in the greatest quantity and the greatest perfection in the countries and islands on the east coast of the Gulf of Siam. According to all accounts, the scent is the result of a diseased action in the tree.

Of palms, the cocoa and areca alone are extensively cultivated in the lower parts of the country. Cocoa-nut oil is extensively exported, at very low prices.

The fruits of Siam, or at least of the neighbourhood of Bang-kok, are excellent and various, surpassing those of all other parts of India. The Siamese themselves consume great quantities of fruit, and the whole neighbourhood of Bang-kok is described as one forest of fruit-trees. According to the accounts of the French missionaries, this was the case more than two hundred years ago, when they first became acquainted with the country. Yet it appears that most of these fruit-trees are exotic in their origin. "It is singular," says Mr. Crawfurd, "how very few native fruits of delicate flavour any one country can boast of,—Siam for example, which has now so rich and varied an assemblage of choice fruits, owes the best of them to foreign countries." The most exquisite of these fruits are the orange, the mango, the mangustin, the durian, the lichi, the pine-apple, the guava, and the papia fig.

The sugar-cane has been known in Siam for many ages; but it is not much above half a century ago that it was manufactured into good sugar by some of the Chinese settlers, to whom the government, with unusual liberality and wisdom, afforded protection and encouragement. As far back as the year 1822, the Siamese exported to China, Hindustan, Persia, and Arabia, 8,000,000 pounds of sugar, which was generally the whitest and the best in India. This valuable produce might be increased to almost any extent by an increased and industrious population, with which China, with great ease and immense advantage to herself, might supply the country. Immense tracts of land, for ages untouched by the hand of the labourer, afford the soil and all the other circumstances favourable to the developement of the sugar-cane.

Tobacco, which the Siamese call "medicine," is very generally cultivated throughout the country, and is exported in considerable quantities. Black pepper is a very large article of export; the annual quantity produced thirty years ago was 8,000,000 of pounds. Though scarcely known in any other foreign market except that of China, it is said to be superior in quality to any of the Malay pepper. But the mischief is, that, in common with most other things, the king monopolises the produce, and trades in it himself. Three kinds of cotton are extensively grown, and great quantities exported to the island of Haenan. Cardamums, of the finest quality, and commanding very high prices in the markets of China, are produced in Siam and in parts of Kamboja which are in subjection to it. They form a royal monopoly, the forests which produce the trees are strictly watched, and great pains seem to be taken to conceal from foreigners all knowledge about the plants and the management of the produce.

Of the cereals, the only plants observed to be cultivated in Siam are rice and maize, or Indian corn. The principal varieties are the dry or upland, and the low or marsh grains; and both these, as in Cochin-China, China, India, &c., have been generally cultivated for ages. The same causes which produce such fertility in Cochin-China exist in full force in Siam,—valleys by rivers, alluvial plains, and annual inundations. Within the range of inundation, the soil of Siam, aided by the climate, is perhaps better suited than any other country or district in the world for the growth of the moist rice. With the exception of Bengal, Siam, in Mr. Crawfurd's time, unquestionably exported more rice than any other country in Asia. "I was informed," says that gentleman, "that in the rice-grounds in the vicinity of Bang-kok, a return of forty-fold for the seed was expected by the husbandmen. The certainty with which the crops of this grain are yielded from year to year is probably of still more consequence than their occasional abundance. The conviction of this fact has produced a salutary influence even upon the jealous and arbitrary government of Siam, which, in opposition to the practice of other Asiatic states, generally permits the free exportation of rice; no doubt from a long habitual experience of the safety of this policy. Maize is extensively cultivated in Siam, particularly in the mountain districts, but does not form in this, no more than in any other Asiatic country, an article of exportation, being a commodity of too little value to bear the heavy freights of Indian navigation."

Good vegetables for the table are by no means wanting, and the kitchen-gardens in the alluvial soil might be made to grow almost everything, Among farinaceous roots, they have the usual varieties cultivated in other tropical countries, the most valuable of them being considered the sweet potatoe.

Deduction must be made from one item of the advantages, but otherwise the following passage written by the French Jesuit, Marcel le Blanc, in the year 1688-90, is quite applicable to this empire in 1852:—"This country of Siam is considerable among the other nations of India, on account of the multitude of its people, the abundance of its provisions, and by its advantageous situation for the commerce of China, Japan, and Bengal. The climate is very warm. The country is watered by the fertilising Menam, which traverses it from one end to the other. The mouth of that river is the principal entrance into the kingdom. Its banks, for the distance of six or seven leagues from the sea, are covered with forests, which are always green, but which are rendered almost inaccessible by frequent ravines. In the solitary parts one sees neither houses nor huts, neither men, nor flocks and herds; and this would render the passage up the river rather dull if it were not for the number of birds of marvellously various plumage, and the troops of monkeys that cry, whistle, and sport and gambol among the trees, as if all of them, birds and beasts, were collected there to play comedies for the amusement of the traveller. These forests, bordering on the river, continue almost as far as the fortress of Bang-kok, beyond which the river banks are more open, and the landscape more cheerful. Here extend those grand, level, fruitful plains, which bear the finest rice in the world, when the Menam, swollen by the waters of the season of rain, has overflowed its banks and fecundated the soil. For the facility of procuring provisions, and for the great convenience of the navigation, most of the cities, towns, and burghs are situated on the same river. For the major part, these places are poorly built and badly defended, but an overflowing abundance reigns all around them. Certes, nothing can be wanting here to make a rich, prosperous, happy people, but pure religion and better government!"*

It will be understood, that in the remote parts of this immense country, where neither missionary nor trader has ever penetrated, there may be many other productions; but in this sketch we have not even room for any more particular account of those which are known to us. There is, however, one article which must not be passed over in silence. This is *gamboge*, that well-known medicine and pigment, which Europe receives exclusively from Siam and Cochin-China. It takes its name from Kamboja. That portion of Kamboja which now belongs to Siam, and some parts of the Siamese territory bordering upon it, are believed to be the only parts of the world which produce it. It is simply a gum obtained from a species of *Garcinia*, by making incisions in the bark of the forest tree, from which it exudes, and is collected in copper vessels affixed to the tree. It soon assumes a concrete form, and is fit fór the market without farther preparation. A certain fixed quantity of it is paid annually, as tax or tribute, to the King of Siam, and it appears also that a certain quantity is delivered to the King of Anam. The Portuguese first found it out as an article of commerce; since their time it has been sold and extensively used in every part of Europe, though, probably, very few have thought of the remote country of its production.

---

* "Histoire de la Révolution du Roiaume de Siam, arrivée en l'année 1688." Lyon, 1692.

In matters of national history the Siamese seem to have indulged in the passion for the wild, fabulous, and supernatural, beyond even the usual license of Oriental nations. Their myths, which the vulgar among them take in their literal sense, and believe to be so many truths, even surpass in extravagance those of the Japanese,—and more can scarcely be said. The French traveller and envoy extraordinary of Louis XIV., who was in the country in the years 1687-88, translated from the Pali language one of their most famous works, which professes to give an historical account of the first great lords or demi-gods who founded the Siamese dynasty and nation. A few specimens from the old French version may amuse the reader, and will be quite sufficient to convey an idea of the remainder.

All these mighty beings were attended by genii, and endowed with miraculous qualities, including the strength of at least one hundred thousand men of our degenerate times. One of them had seven gifts granted to him at his birth. The first was a glass bowl, which carried death to all his enemies; for he had only to throw it (without any regard to distance) in the direction where they stood, and the bowl cut their throats, and then returned to its royal master. The second gift consisted of elephants and horses of extraordinary beauty, which flew through the air with quite as much ease as they trotted or galloped upon earth. The third gift was a cylinder of glass, by which he could procure as much gold as he could desire; for he had only to throw it up in the air and instantly a column of gold sprung out of the earth, and reached the point of elevation to which he had thrown the glass cylinder. The purest silver was obtained in the like easy manner. The fourth gift was a bright lady, brought from northern climates, of a more than marvellous beauty, and endowed with the faculty of obtaining rice with as much facility as her lord got gold and silver; for she had only to put a few grains of rice in a cauldron and the fire lighted itself under the cauldron, and when the vessel boiled it was found to contain rice enough to feed five hundred hungry men, or more if necessary. The fifth gift was a dwarf or gnome, whose sight was so penetrating that from the surface of the soil he could see gold, silver, and precious stones in the very bowels and profoundest cavities of the earth. The sixth gift was a fighting grand mandarin, whose physical strength and indomitable courage exceeded all powers of description. The seventh and last gift was in the shape of one thousand children by his one matchless queen, the bright lady from the North.

Tevatat was another wondrous prince, to whom his genii and gods gave the dominion of the whole earth, together with the power of working as many miracles as might suit his convenience. He could fly through the air, he could change himself into any beast, bird, fish, or reptile. He was rather partial to masquerading in the shape of a bat. Sometimes he was a tiny, glossy snake. The next instant he would be a huge, rough rhinoceros. Other princes, however, could occasionally assume similar shapes. One of his rivals took the shape of a tall slim bird, with a very long beak or bill. At this moment Tevatat was some great ravenous quadruped, and was nearly choked by a bone sticking in his throat. Here we have, in Siam, the Æsopian fable of the wolf and the crane. But who can tell the real origin of those fables, of which so many others are current in the East, and which, no doubt, were widely diffused over the world, and known in Europe long before the days of Æsop? Tevatat begged his rival to remove the bone, promising him a great reward. The crane-disguised rival thrust both bill and head into his yawning mouth, withdrew the bone, and asked for something to eat, as his reward. "Ha! ha!" said the wolfish Tevatat, "have I not allowed you to take your head safe and sound out of my mouth, and is not that the greatest favour I could confer upon you?"

It is not difficult to discover (that which, however, there has been no attempt to conceal) that these mythical legends have been composed by the talapoins. Throughout the wild narrations a decided preference is given to a devout, solitary, and ascetic life, and the torments of regions truly infernal are held out in terror to all such as fail in reverence to the talapoins, or break the laws which they lay down. These punishments, however, are not eternal ; the priests seem to be of opinion that ten millions of years of torment are about sufficient for the chastisement of the greatest sinner. On the opposite page of their book they hold out the brightest promises to all such as are kind and liberal to talapoins, and strictly adhere to their commandments.*

In many portions this fabulous history is intermixed with Hindu mythology, heroes and gods Rama, who was both a god and hero, is familiar to Siamese legends.

Their authentic history is of no very remote antiquity ; and the only facts it presents, which are at all to be relied upon, can scarcely be said to date farther back than the early part of the sixteenth century, the era of their first acquaintance with European nations. It appears that the religion they follow was introduced from the island of Ceylon, which has furnished nearly the half of Asia with idols and priests, about the year 638 after the birth of Christ. From that period, down to the year 1824, there had reigned, according to the natives, sixty kings of more or less fame. This, it has been observed, would agree very nearly with the European computation of twenty years for the average duration of each reign. The old capital, Yuthia, is said to have been founded by the twenty-seventh king, in the year 1350. In 1502 we know, upon European authority, that the King of Siam sent an unsuccessful expedition against the principality of Malacca. In 1511 the Portuguese, after the conquest of Malacca by the great Albuquerque (who built up an empire in the East as if by magic), established their first intercourse with Siam. At that period, many parts of the country which are now deserted appear to have been well peopled and in a flourishing condition. But, rapidly, disorder and exterminations ensued. In 1547 there was a revolution, and in 1549 another. In 1567 the fierce Burmans conquered Siam, and held it in subjection for the space of thirty years, after which the Siamese recovered their independence. There then appears to have been an interval of peace and internal tranquillity. In 1612 the first English ship ascended the Menam river to the old capital, and not very long after this a sort of English factory must have been established, either at Bang-kok or Yuthia; for we find in the accounts of the early missionaries rather frequent mention of Englishmen, of an English guard, &c. In 1621, the Portuguese viceroy of Goa sent a mission to Siam ; and in the same year some Dominican and Franciscan monks found their way into the country. These missionaries were soon followed by some Jesuit fathers, whose first success was very considerable, as it had previously been in Japan and other countries. But another sanguinary revolution occurred in 1627, by which a check was given to prosperity and a new dynasty put upon the throne.

---

* De la Loubère, "Du Royaume de Siam." Amsterdam, 1692.

The son of the new usurper was the well-known correspondent and ally of Louis XIV. In 1683 we find a Greek adventurer, originally from the island of Cephalonia, filling the post of Phraklang, or Foreign and Prime Minister of Siam. This was the celebrated Constantine Phaulcon, of whose success Voltaire justly remarks, that it affords a striking example of the intellectual superiority of the European over the other races of men. Constantine was the son of a poor innkeeper; but he went early to the East, and filled various inferior employments in the service of the English East India Company. In this service he distinguished himself by his address and ability, and he managed to get together not only a vast quantity of useful information, but also a considerable sum of money. He first made his appearance at the court of Siam as a merchant, desiring only a liberty to trade; and a merchant he continued to be when he became prime minister, and in a manner master of the whole kingdom. M. Marcel le Blanc, who knew him most intimately, and almost entirely lived with him during a space of two years, says of him,—"This minister of Siam has been spoken of in the world in very different ways; his friends have drawn flattering portraits of him ; his enemies have attempted to blacken his memory after his death : as much may be done with all men, just as we look at their good or bad side. To satisfy public curiosity on the subject of this minister, who made so much noise in the world, and to make known, as I ought, the first actor in my history, I will proceed to render him justice. M. Constantine was of middling stature, full of fire, having something sombre and melancholy in the expression of his countenance, but agreeable in his conversation, and very engaging by his manners, when he wished to be so. According to the genius of his nation, he knew how to dissimulate; and through the habit he had had in India, of dealing only with slaves, he was proud and choleric. His wit and talent were of wide extent, and, without having regularly studied, he appeared to have learned everything. He spoke well, and in many different languages. He despised the riches which his good fortune had procured for him without difficulty, but he was ever for glory, and for that greatness which his humble birth had denied him. In the mixture of his qualities he had three that were excellent, as no one denies. He had a rare genius for great affairs; he had a perfect integrity and justice in his methods of transacting business, for which he never received salary or recompense from the king he served, contenting himself with the trade which that prince allowed him to carry on by sea; and, in the third place, he was a sincere Christian, and the most zealous protector of Christianity in all the Orient, maintaining at his own expense all the missionaries, and all the European laymen who had recourse to him." *

Through the influence of this extraordinary Greek, the reigning king of Siam (himself an extraordinary man for an Asiatic prince) introduced many improvements, and undertook in 1684 to send a great mandarin and an embassy to the court of Versailles. Voltaire remarks, that the vanity of Louis XIV. was much flattered by such a compliment from a country ignorant until then that such a place as France existed. The mandarin was made the lion of Versailles and Paris, and his visit is to be traced in some of the French fashions of that day, and in engravings and allusions in the journals and books of the period. The Siamese ambassadors, who had made their voyage from their own country in an English merchant-ship, came over to England, and are said to have concluded in London a commercial treaty with the court of St. James's, then in strict friendship and alliance with the French court. In 1685, Louis XIV. sent the Chevalier Chaumont, at the head of a splendid embassy, to Siam. Two years thereafter he despatched a second mission, with a squadron of ships, and five hundred French soldiers,—a

---

* "Hist. de la Révolution de Siam," &c.

force which ought to have been adequate to the conquest of all the most valuable part of the country. In the same year, 1687, or in the year following, some English who had settled themselves at the port and town of Mergui, which then belonged to the Siamese, were barbarously massacred. The rest of the country was at peace. "Such," says Father Marcel le Blanc, "was the real state of the court and kingdom of Siam when the five ships of our king arrived, in the month of October, 1687, with two envoys of his majesty to the King of Siam, with French troops to garrison such places as might be allotted to them, and with fourteen Jesuits, apostolic missionaries and mathematicians of King Louis. M. Constantine, to make a return for all the kindness of his Most Christian Majesty, and in order to second his great and just plans for the establishment of the true religion, and of a trade which would be equally beneficial to both nations, did all he could with the king his master, representing the honour which had been done to him by the King of France, and the great advantages which might be derived from his friendship and alliance. As the Court of France wished, he confided to the French troops the guard of the fortresses of Bang-kok, and Mergui, the two keys of the kingdom. The Jesuits founded a magnificent college at Louvo, and hopes were held out to them that they should soon have another college in Yuthia, then the capital."

It appears, however, from the admissions of the reverend father, that the French officers did not entirely agree with the Greek minister, and that, liberal as he was, they wanted more than he could safely grant. In January, 1688 (the year of our English revolution), many circumstances indicated that another revolution was preparing in Siam. In that month the five ships of Louis XIV. set sail to return to France, thus leaving the French troops without their important aid. As soon as they were gone, one of the tributary Malay princes, who had a Dutchman for his prime minister, sent a letter and a messenger to the King of Siam, to represent the great danger he incurred by keeping those ambitious, restless Frenchmen in his dominions. This, which was considered entirely a Dutch intrigue, produced no effect. Shortly after the attempt, a Malay about the court sought an audience of his Siamese majesty, and on being admitted into the palace declared that Constantine and the French were conspiring against throne, religion, and public liberty. It was understood that this man was set on by others. He was put to the torture, and as he would confess nothing, he was cast out to the king's tigers. A number of other disaffected Malays were put to death at the same time. But the whispers against the Greek minister and the French could not be stopped, for they were kept up and cunningly circulated by a strong faction, who had previously resolved on the revolution, and who saw no chance of success unless they could first discredit and ruin the brave, powerful foreigners. At the head of this conspiracy, which had begun before the arrival of the French, was a mandarin, called by the missionaries Pitraki, a man of low birth but of great power, who aimed at the throne and who had gained over the priests or talapoins. By degrees the conspirators excited the common people of the cities, giving out that the king was dead and that the Greek concealed his death. Next they brought in their followers and dependants from the country, and with them not a few robbers,—and then they began, little by little, to call meetings and make tumults in the capital. "At the beginning," says Father le Blanc, "half-a-dozen of our French soldiers would have scattered that rabblement of natives (*cette canaille d'Indiens*), but the danger was despised until it was too late." Pitraki very cunningly got possession of the royal palace, made the king a prisoner, and thence issued his own orders in the name of his majesty. The whole affair was most adroitly managed, but a faithful native hastened to Constantine to assure him that something mysterious was in progress. The Greek determined to go to the palace, to perform his duty to the king. All his friends strongly dissuaded him from taking this bold step, and recommended him to call around him all the French and English officers who were near at hand, to barricade himself in his own house. But the Greek had too much fidelity and courage to act upon this timid advice. He sent a native secretary to the palace to ascertain, if possible, what really was passing. At the same time he begged Major de Beauchamp to go and put under arms the French officers, with three companies of Siamese troops, which those officers commanded, at the gate of the palace, and he desired the captain of his

English guard to hold himself in readiness to act upon his orders. In the meantime the native secretary returned, declaring that all within the palace were for Pitraki, and that the king was in very truth a prisoner. Either Constantine was still in doubt, or he was in confidence that at sight of him the mandarins, who had so often trembled at his frown, would fall at his feet or take to flight. With only three French officers in company, he took the road to the palace. His wife, a native of the country, but Portuguese by origin, vainly attempted to detain him, and as he rushed out of his house she wept and shrieked that she would never see him more. At the palace-gate, Constantine found that his own guard had not yet arrived, but many Siamese affected to receive him, either with great submission and respect, or with friendly eagerness; and thus he went into the palace and directed his steps towards the king's apartment. In a narrow passage, Pitraki the usurper, his son, his chief executioner, and a host of mandarins, fell upon him and his companions sword in hand. Constantine and the three French officers were disarmed. The fallen minister was separated from the Frenchmen, and forced into a different part of the palace. The chief executioner raised his hand to inflict the mortal blow, but Pitraki stepped forward, saved the life of the fallen minister, and led him to the castle walls, where he spoke with him for some time as if he were in perfect liberty, using no violence of language or of gesture. This was done in order that people outside the palace might be induced to believe that Constantine and Pitraki were good friends. It appears that not only was this impression produced on the Siamese populace, but also that many of the French were quite mystified by the *ruse*. The usurper then conducted the Greek to the room in which were the three imprisoned French officers, and he left them together until the morrow. By this time the French guard, which Constantine had ordered, had assembled in the guard-house, which was near to the palace-gate. Pitraki sent to the officers there the ungrateful old mandarin who had been at Versailles and Paris with the Siamese embassy, to order them to retire immediately with their soldiers, as all was quiet in the royal precincts. But these few Frenchmen *were* soldiers, and they refused to move without an order from Constantine, by whose command they were there stationed. Even the native guard which was with the French, and under the immediate command of French officers, refused to move. And there this handful of men, though surrounded by many thousands of the armed revolutionists, kept their ground from noon till midnight, boldly stopping the patroles of the usurper. In the darkness of night, however, some emissaries obtained speech of the Siamese portion of the guard, and when one of the French officers gave an alarm, in order to see whether the troops were on the alert, it was found that all the Siamese had abandoned the post. But a few French workmen came up to the *corps de garde*, and the armed hosts were still kept in check. But provisions were cut off, the French officers on the spot were cajoled and deceived, and those at a distance from the scene of rebellion were duped by a series of artifices of the most skilful kind. "It is the genius of these Indians," says Father le Blanc, "never to employ open force against their enemies when they have any hope of succeeding by fraud and surprise. To make up for the courage which they do not possess, they make a profound study of cunning and duplicity: in these they exercise themselves, as other nations learn the art of fencing with the sword. Their timid nature, their servile crawling manner, their flattering words, the tone of their voice, their gestures, their entire manner, contribute wonderfully to the delusions they wish to practise, and always impose upon strangers. No point of artifice is too low or too shameful for them. As for the point of honour, they know not what it means; and good faith is equally an unknown word among them. One and the same word expresses in their language roguery, wit, wisdom, address, treachery, and prudence. This has given rise to a proverb, which prevails throughout Siam,—'Trade must be left to the Dutch, arts and manufactures to the Chinese, war to the French, but wit to the Siamese.' The most active of the French officers were cunningly seized, loaded with chains, beaten with bamboos, and otherwise treated with the greatest atrocity. The young wife, the son, and the servants, and chief friends of the Greek minister, were thrown into prison, and all his property, which he had accumulated by his own industry and skill in trade, was confiscated by the usurper." Constantine himself was subjected to every imaginable kind of torture, and after some months of anguish and imprisonment he was brought out to the great hall of the palace to hear his sentence. It was on the eve of Pentecost. He had had no trial, but he was condemned to death as a traitor, for having introduced foreigners into the kingdom for wicked designs, and for having conspired against the state. Towards the evening he was put upon an elephant, and conducted by a strong guard to a neighbouring forest. One executioner, with a sharp sword, cut his body nearly in two; and as he fell to the ground, another executioner cut off his head." According to the account of his friend, the Jesuit father, the Greek adventurer died like a man and a good Christian, his eyes being bold, and his voice firm to the last, and his very last words being employed in prayer and professions of fervent faith. "Thus died, in the flower of his age, Constantine Phaulkon, well worthy of a better fate; but if his death appeared tragical in the eyes of men, it was precious before God."

As the captive King of Siam was fast sinking under the pressure of grief and sickness, the usurper let him live on, and continued to exercise the royal authority in his name, but he put to death all the other male members of the royal family. The king soon died, and then Pitraki proclaimed himself lawful king and disposer of heads. The French, the English who had been serving with them (most of these Englishmen had undergone great cruelties), the missionaries, the artisans, and all the European traders, were expelled from the country, and thus was destroyed this hope of establishing a French empire in the East. Had there been among the officers of that nation a single man like M. Bussy, the hero of Golconda, or like our own Clive, the result of the experiment must have been altogether different. With an infinitely smaller force of Europeans, Bussy really made an empire in the Carnatic (it was lost by the folly of others), and Clive took and retained Arcot, and laid the solid foundations of our vast empire in India. Sepoys might have been raised with ease; close at hand, the people of Pegu would have enlisted under the banner of France; recruits might have been obtained from Malacca and other quarters, and even among the Siamese themselves, for the country was divided into hostile factions, and all the natives were sufficiently impressed with the military skill and bravery of the French. A native chief, with five thousand or more men, was never found to face even two weak companies of French infantry.

From this period the country declined in prosperity. The good which Constantine the Greek and the French officers had effected was rapidly undone, and the people fell more than ever into the habit of despising Europeans, their improvements, their civilisation, and their institutions. The war of the Spanish succession and other state business in Europe gave too much occupation to Louis XIV. to permit of his sparing any of his time and attention, money and troops, on this distant project, on which, at one period, he seemed to set his heart. The dynasty raised by the revolution occupied the throne of Siam from 1688 down to 1767, during which long period no political or diplomatic intercourse took place between that country and Europe, and such trade as was carried on by foreigners appears to have been very inconsiderable. The interval, however, was not one of peace. In 1733 a civil war broke out between the son and the grandson of the usurper who had murdered Constantine, and Siam was again thrown into a perfect state of anarchy. Thinking that the country would be an easy conquest, the famous Burman adventurer and king, Alompra, marched into it with a great army. His pretext for the war was this: The people of Pegu were worn out by the tyranny, oppressions, and cruelties of the Burmans, and a Peguan general was repairing to Pondicherry to implore the assistance of the French, whose name and fame at this period stood far higher in the Eastern world than those of the English. The Peguan general, in the course of his voyage, put into the port of Mergui, and there received an hospitable reception and encouragement from the Siamese authorities. This was considered by Alompra as worse than an open act of hostility. Having overrun Martaban and Tenasserim, and destroyed Mergui, the Burman conqueror, in 1759–60, advanced upon the Siamese capital, ravaging the country through which he passed with fire and sword. When within three days' march of Yuthia, Alompra was seized with a mortal malady. His army, however, continued to advance, and having attacked the town was, after repeated assaults, forced to give up the enterprise. Had Alompra been present, the Siamese capital would, in all probability, have been taken; but he had died in the interval, and his son, who was in the camp, was eager to return to Ava to contend for the succession to that throne. The Burman army, therefore, made a rapid retreat, suffering great loss before they regained the banks of the Irrawaddi.

During the short reign of the immediate successor of Alompra the Burmans left the Siamese to themselves; but soon after the accession of Shembuan, the second son of Alompra, and the same prince who had accompanied his father in the previous campaign, renewed the war. This was in 1766. Shembuan's first object was the reconquest of Tavoy, the Burman governor of which had declared his independence, and now allied himself with the Siamese. Having succeeded in his first project, the son of Alompra and his numerous Burman army marched again upon Yuthia, crossing on the way lofty mountains and extensive forests. To cover their capital city the Siamese fought a great battle, and sustained a thorough defeat. The victors again plundered and ravaged the country without mercy; but they were so slow in their military movements, that it was more than a year after their victory ere they sat down before Yuthia. At last that city was taken by assault; and then were committed such atrocities as are known only in Eastern wars. The King of Siam being recognised, was butchered at the gate of his palace. His predecessor, who had abdicated the throne and retired to a monastery of talapoins, was dragged from his asylum, and carried a prisoner to Ava, together with the princes and princesses of his family. The first officers of the kingdom were loaded with irons, and sent to row the Burman war-boats; of the poor, defenceless inhabitants, all were plundered of their property, many massacred, many put to the rack to extort the discovery of hidden treasure, and many thousands carried off to be kept or sold as slaves. Although professing the same religion, the Burmans tortured or murdered the Siamese talapoins, destroyed their temples, and carried off or melted down their brass idols. Having perpetrated all this mischief, the Burmans retired from Siam, apparently without making any arrangement for the permanent occupation of the country. So soon as they were gone, the Siamese took up arms and massacred every man whom they suspected of being a partisan of the King of Ava. As there was no native king, and no native or any other government, a chief of Chinese descent put himself at the head of the patriots, and succeeded, in the year 1769, in seizing the throne of Siam.

This usurper is admitted to have been a man of courage, good sense, and discernment. He suppressed a rebellion, tranquillised the country, relieved it from famine, and reduced some provinces which had been conquered by the Burmans, or occupied by ambitious Siamese chiefs who had raised the standard of independence. In 1771 the Burman king prepared an expedition for the reconquest of Siam, but a mutiny broke out in his army, among the troops which had been forcibly levied at Martaban and other parts of Pegu; and this enterprise failed entirely. But in 1782 a native Siamese, one of the great officers of state, who had the command of the army in Kamboja, marched to the new capital, Bang-kok, dethroned the brave usurper, put him to death, and seized upon the government; thus establishing the present Siamese dynasty. The manner of executing any persons of the royal family in Siam (there being a repugnance to shed their blood, in its literal acceptation), is to beat them with a club of sandal wood over the head until death ensues, and then to throw the body, inclosed in a sack, into the Menam, without any funeral ceremonies. The dethroned usurper, although not of royal birth, had the honour of suffering death after this fashion.

The first prince of the present dynasty died in 1809, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the King of Siam, to whom Mr. Crawfurd was accredited. In the meanwhile the Burmans had made several other unsuccessful attempts to render themselves masters of the country; and these wars were continued under the Siamese king who succeeded his father in 1809. This prince, within thirty-six hours after the decease of his predecessor, put to death 117 chiefs and other persons, suspected of being unfavourable to him. After this open act of atrocity, his reign was far from being sanguinary. Our envoy was assured by some, on whose veracity he thought he could rely, that during two whole years not one execution had taken place. In some matters he was a reformer. Seeing the country so swarming with idle talapoins, he ordered that a certain number of them should be turned into soldiers. The talapoins cried out sacrilege, and got up a conspiracy. Seven hundred priests were arrested. The greater number were soon liberated, none were executed, and a few only were punished by being stripped of their yellow dress, and condemned to cut grass for the royal elephants. These events happened a few months before the arrival of our mission.

In 1810–11 the King of Ava made one more attempt (apparently the last of all) to conquer and annex, but his Burman army was overmatched by the Siamese, and compelled to surrender at discretion. The principal Burman chiefs were beheaded, and the inferior prisoners carried off as slaves to Bang-kok, where Mr. Crawfurd saw some of the survivors working in chains. These two neighbouring nations continue to be irreconcilable enemies. Except when restrained by the rainy season, when the country is impassable, they are almost perpetually engaged in petty hostilities on the frontiers, the object of each being to seize the peaceful inhabitants and carry them off as slaves. Under this system the poor, defenceless people of Pegu, suffered most; and hence a chief reason why the Peguans were so favourable to the English in our first war with the Burmans, and why they are aiding and assisting us in the present war. To them our rule and dominion would be the greatest blessing that their imagination can conceive.

The mission of Mr. Crawfurd in 1821 was scarcely more successful than that of Colonel Symes a few years before. It would appear, however, that the country was far less prosperous, and that the English visitors were treated with less arrogance and insolence. The gentlemen of the mission were detained some days at the mouth of the river, before being allowed to proceed to Bang-kok. A rigid etiquette was maintained by the Siamese officers, who put innumerable questions and answered none, and who adroitly avoided entering upon the discussion of any real business. They were invited on shore to dine with the governor of Pak-nam, who received them in a very spacious but exceedingly dirty apartment. In the centre of the great hall they found the table laid out in the European fashion, under the direction of the Portuguese interpreters, with plates, knives, forks, silver spoons, and some tolerable English glass-ware. The table was loaded with viands, as pork, fowls, ducks, eggs, and rice, and with an abundance of fruit, particularly oranges, mangoes, and lichis, all in season and all admirable in flavour. After a long sea-voyage, this could not be called a bad dinner; but a mysterious-looking curtain, drawn across one end of the apartment, excited the curiosity of our countrymen. What did the curtain conceal? What manner of guests occupied that end of the dining-room? Was it the governor's wife or her attendants, gratifying curiosity by peeping at them through the curtain? No! It was the incurious, cold, coffined body of the governor's brother, who had been dead more than five months! It was a relief after this to learn that the corpse was quite free from bad odours. On the following day, two gentlemen of the mission asked leave to see the old gentleman. This was readily granted, and a son of the deceased acted as showman. The body was lying in a coffin, which was covered with tinsel and white cloth; and the lid being removed, the coffin exhibited the corpse wrapped up in a great many folds of cloth, like an Egyptian mummy, apparently quite dry, and covered with such a profusion of aromatics, that there was nothing offensive about it. They were only waiting for the auspicious astrological moment for performing the funeral ceremonies, and burning the body.

On arriving at Bang-kok, at an early hour in the morning, our travellers were presented with a novel and rather pleasing spectacle. The capital of Siam, being situated on both banks of the river, was on either side of them. Numerous temples of Buddha, with tall spires attached to them, and frequently glittering with gilding, were conspicuous among the mean huts and hovels of the natives, and every part of the town was interspersed with palms, fruit-trees, and the "sacred fig." Beyond the town, on both banks, stretched continuous groves, or absolute forests of fruit-trees. There seemed to be nearly as many people living on the water as on the land. On each side of the river there was a row of floating habitations, built on barges, or resting on rafts of bamboo, moored to the shore. These appeared to be the neatest and best description of dwellings. Mr. Neale, a more recent observer, and one who stayed longer in the country, assures us, however, that these habitations are far from being so healthy as the houses on *terra firma*. Close to these aquatic dwellings were anchored the largest description of native vessels, among which were many junks of great size, just arrived from China. The face of the river presented a very busy scene; boats and canoes of all sizes were passing to and fro. The Menam with its tributaries, and the canals, are the one common highway; for there are hardly any roads, even near the capital. Many of the boats were shops, containing fresh pork, dried fish, fruit, earthenware, and the like. The itinerant venders were hawking their several commodities, and crying them, as in a European town. Many of the moored boat-houses were occupied by Chinese traders, who made a good display of goods in the fronts of their shops. Among those who were in motion on the river, rowing or paddling the canoes, was a very large proportion of women and priests, the talapoins being readily distinguished by their shaven heads and yellow raiments. This was the hour in which these priests are wont to go begging.

View of Bang-kok.

Fresh delays and impediments were raised in the way of our negociators, whose patience and gravity were put to a very severe test. Some of the forms, ceremonies, and scruples of the mandarins, were more laughable than any farce. The greed and selfishness of these grandees, their eagerness to know what presents the mission had brought, and their impatience to get sight and possession of them, almost exceeded belief. They were detected in many falsehoods, and did not themselves scruple to say, "Oh, oh! all that we told you yesterday was one lie." Our countrymen were kept prisoners in a house close to the river, being told that they must not attempt to see anything until they had seen the great Disposer of Heads. At last, after ten days' detention, they were admitted to an audience at the royal palace.

They were escorted through long lines of native troops, mandarins, and elephants, to an immense hall, much frequented by pigeons, swallows, and sparrows. Carpets were spread for them, and they were requested to wait a summons into the royal presence. After some twenty minutes the summons was given, and, preceded by a number of officers with white wands, they walked to the inner gate of the principal palace, a building with a tall spire and roofed with tin. They were here made to take off their shoes, and to leave behind them all their attendants. As soon as they had entered the gate, they were deafened by an immense native band, beating gongs and drums, and blowing brass flutes and shrill pipes. Opposite to the door of the hall of audience was an immense Chinese mirror, of many parts, which formed a screen, concealing from view the interior of the court. They had no sooner arrived at this spot than a loud flourish of wind instruments was heard, accompanied by a wild shout, or yell, which, as they afterwards discovered, announced the arrival of his majesty the Lord of the White Elephants, the Disposer of Heads, &c. They then passed the screen to the right side, took off their hats, and made a bow in the European manner, for they had resolutely determined not to prostrate themselves. There was prostration enough without theirs! The hall was literally strewed with kneeling, crouching courtiers, who were so close together, that it was difficult to take a step without treading on a mandarin, or some officer of state. The hall appeared to be well proportioned and spacious, and about thirty feet in height. On either side was a row of handsome pillars. The walls and ceilings were painted a bright vermilion; the cornices of the walls were gilded, and the ceiling was thickly spangled with stars in very rich gilding. A number of good lustres, of English cut-glass, were suspended between the pillars, but against the pillars were stuck many miserable lamps of tin plate, which marred the effect. The throne and its appendages occupied the whole of the upper end of the hall. The throne, richly gilded all over, was about fifteen feet high, and in shape and look very like a handsome pulpit. A pair of curtains, of gold tissue, concealed the whole of the upper part of the room except the throne, and were intended to be drawn over this also. In front of the throne, and rising from the floor, in sizes decreasing as they ascended, were numbers of gilded umbrellas. The king, as he appeared seated on the throne, looked more like a statue in a niche than a living being. He was short, and rather fat; his features were very ordinary, and the expression of his countenance did not indicate intelligence. He wore a loose gown of gold tissue, with very wide sleeves. His head was bare, for he had neither crown nor any other ornament on it. But close to him was a sceptre, or bâton of gold. All was hush. Save the Englishmen, all were prostrate on the floor; and they were reminded more of the temple of some god, crowded with votaries, than of the audience-chamber of a temporal sovereign. On the left of the throne were exhibited the presents sent by the Governor-general, and these, as our envoy firmly believed, were represented as English tribute.

Gold Vase for the King's Letters.

His majesty put a few questions, the most of which were insignificant. He concluded with the following sentence,—"I am glad to see here an envoy from the Governor-general of India. Whatever you have to say, communicate to my chief minister. What we want from you is a good supply of fire-arms—fire-arms and good gunpowder." As he uttered the last words, a loud stroke was heard, as if given by a wand against a piece of wainscoting, and that instant the curtains on each side of the throne, moved by some concealed agency, closed upon the throne, the king, the golden sceptre, and all that glory. The stage-trick was sudden and quite dramatic. It was followed by another flourish of wild instruments, and another wild shout. The courtiers stretched their faces along the ground six several times; the Englishmen made three more bows, sitting bolt upright, as had been agreed upon, and all was over.

During the audience a heavy shower had fallen, and it was still raining. The king sent to each of the strangers a small common umbrella, and gave them to understand that they might have the honour of being introduced to his elephants, both white and black. This seemed to be considerate; but when our countrymen were about putting on their shoes they were told that shoes must not be worn within the precincts of the royal palace; and in the midst of the rain they were obliged to walk across the wet court-yards, and then through the stables, in their stockings.

It is now very generally known in Europe, that in all countries where Buddhism prevails, white elephants are objects of veneration, and that the King of Siam takes one of his proudest titles from these animals. His present majesty possessed no fewer than six white elephants, which is said to be a greater number than ever had belonged before to any Siamese monarch. The circumstance was considered peculiarly auspicious to his reign. If kings with only three white elephants had been great and victorious kings, what must he be who had six? As bound in courtesy and etiquette, our countrymen visited the whites first. Upon a close inspection, they found the animals approached much nearer to a true white than they had imagined. They showed no signs of disease, debility, or imperfection; they were as large as other elephants, the smallest of them being not less than six feet six inches high They all came either from the kingdom of

Lao or from Kamboja, and not one of them from any part of Siam Proper, or from any of its other dependencies. These Buddhists imagine that the body of so rare an object as a huge white elephant must be the temporary habitation of the soul of some king, potentate, or mighty personage, in its progress to final perfection. For all that he knew to the contrary, the soul of the King of Siam's own father, or grandfather, might be lodged in one of his six elephants. In accordance with this superstition, every white elephant in Siam has the rank and title of a king. One of the Jesuits gravely tells us that his majesty of Siam never rides a white elephant, because the elephant is as great a king as himself. Each of the six seen by Mr. Crawfurd and his companions had a separate stable, and at least ten courtiers or keepers to wait upon it. There were females as well as males; all had a chain netting of gold over their heads, and a small gold-embroidered velvet cushion on their backs, and, in addition, the males had gold rings in their tusks. The veneration in which they were held did not save them from occasional correction. A keeper pricked the foot of one them till it bled, although his majesty's only offence was stealing a bunch of bananas, or, rather, snatching it before he had received permission.

In the stables or *temples* (for it appears that the natives give them that name), were kept two very large long-tailed monkeys, as white as their four-footed and trunk provided majesties themselves,—indeed they were of a perfectly pure white. They were in very good health, and had been caught a long time ago; but the strangers (an Englishman can never see a monkey without touching his tail) were advised not to play with them, as they were of a sulky disposition, and big and strong enough to be mischievous when angered. They had both been captured in a forest on the skirts of the Lao country—that curious country, of which so little is known, and of which that little excites curiosity to know more. In that peculiar region, among other freaks, animal nature seems to sport very much in *albinos;* for, besides white elephants and white monkeys, there are white buffaloes and white deer. Even a white porpoise has been seen disporting itself in the Gulf of Siam.* These creatures are perfectly white, and not for a season, as are some animals in the high latitudes and colder regions. It has been reasonably concluded that this anomaly in colour is connected with some peculiarities of the climate.

---

* Finlayson's "Mission to Siam and Hué."

From the white elephants the strangers were conducted to the crowd of their brethren which had the ill-luck to be born black, and which were therefore doomed to toil and harsh usage. There was nothing remarkable in them except their total number, and the curious fact that many of them were partially white, particularly about the head and trunk. One of them, which had the honour of a separate apartment, was of a pure white all over the head and trunk; and this animal was good eight feet high, and considered to be of a very perfect form. It also had been caught in the forests of Lao.

According to more recent accounts, the white elephants have been provided with other lodgings, and have received still more honours and distinction. The chief watt, or temple, is situated on the east bank of the Menam, in the centre of a garden, deliciously scented with the tube-rose, the yellow honeysuckle, and a rare specimen of the passion-flower, called by the Siamese the bell-flower. On either side of the watt are two huge banian trees, under the shade of which a crowd of talapoins, clad in gamboge-dyed dresses, are usually found chanting laudatory verses about his majesty the great white elephant. The room of state occupied by his majesty is exceedingly lofty, with windows all round the upper part; the flooring is covered with a mat-work, wrought in pure gold, and the trough from which his majesty drinks is ornamented with gold. The man who was so fortunate as to entrap this white elephant, which is a very huge one, received a large pension from the biped King of Siam, and the pension is said to be made hereditary. He was raised also to one of the very highest offices in the kingdom—that of water-carrier to his four-footed majesty.

In the course of the afternoon, after their presentation at court and their presentation to the white elephants, Mr. Crawfurd and his suite were waited upon by the chief minister, who had previously sent them the materials for a feast.

" This visit," says our envoy, " afforded an opportunity of observing one of the most singular and whimsical prejudices of the Siamese. This people have an extreme horror of permitting anything to pass over the head, or having the head touched, or, in short, of bringing themselves into any situation in which their persons are liable to be brought into a situation of physical inferiority to that of others ; such as going under a bridge, or entering the lower apartment of a house when the upper one is inhabited. For this sufficient reason, their houses are all of one story. The dwellings which we occupied, however, had been intended for a warehouse, and consisted, as already mentioned, of two stories, while there was no access to the upper apartments except by an awkward stair and trap-door from the corresponding lower ones. This occasioned a serious dilemma to the minister. A man of his rank and condition, it was gravely insisted upon, could not subject himself to have strangers walk over his head, without suffering seriously in public estimation.

"To get over this weighty objection, a ladder was at last erected against the side of the house, by which his excellency, although neither a light nor active figure suited for such enterprises, safely effected his ascent about three o'clock in the afternoon. The native Christians of Portuguese descent had prepared an abundant entertainment, after the European manner, which was now served up. The minister sat at table, but without eating. His son and nephew, the youths whom I have before mentioned, also sat down, and partook heartily of the good things which were placed before them. No Oriental antipathies were discoverable in the selection of the viands. Pork, beef, venison, and poultry, were served up in profusion, and there was certainly nothing to indicate that we were in a country where the destruction of animal life is viewed with horror, and punished as a crime. The fact is, that in practice the Siamese eat whatever animal food is presented to them without scruple, and discreetly put no questions, being quite satisfied, as they openly avow, if the blood be not upon their heads."*

The minister informed the envoy that from this day his majesty would discharge the expenses of the mission, and he ostentatiously put down upon the table a miserable sum in silver, which would not have kept the servants of the mission for eight-and-forty hours. Mr. Crawfurd endeavoured to explain that the gentlemen were all well paid by the Governor-general of India, and were forbidden to take money from strangers, or for the discharge of a public duty. It was of no use; they must take the silver, as to reject it would be considered an act of sacrilege.

---

* "Journal of an Embassy to Siam, &c."

After another delay of eight days the minister entered upon business, but very soon broke off without coming to any conclusion. After another interval of eight days the great minister returned in a great hurry, and in evident excitement. He entered the house by scrambling over the roof or gable end. The Englishmen expected him to divulge some political crisis, or other event of the highest importance. But when the mandarin had recovered breath enough to speak, he solemnly told them that he had come from court about four glass lamps, which had been offered to the king by a person belonging to the English ship, but afterwards sold clandestinely to some one else. His majesty had set his heart on these lamps; he was incensed that any one should have presumed either to sell or to buy them; and he had threatened to bamboo one half of the court, unless the four lamps were immediately procured for him. What was to be done? Who had the lamps? The envoy promised to inquire into the transaction, but he told the minister that, among us, the person who offered the best price for a commodity usually got it. On the second night after this interview the Englishmen were awakened by the cries of some poor creature, who was suffering corporal punishment under their windows. The next morning they learned from the man himself that the victim was the Portuguese interpreter attached to their ship, who had failed to report the sale of the four lamps of which the king had become so violently enamoured. As the poor man knew not what had become of the lamps, and as no one could trace them, the Lord of the White Elephant and Disposer of Heads threatened to bamboo his prime minister, and that personage escaped a drubbing only by keeping out of the way high until the royal rage had abated. The Portuguese consul, who was under some pecuniary obligation to the court, was arrested, treated with great indignity, and told that he deserved to be bastinadoed, as an accomplice in the rape of the lamps. During two whole days and nights Bang-kok was fearfully agitated about these lamps, the intrinsic value of which might have been about four pounds sterling! They were at last discovered in the possession of an old Siamese woman, who, with fear and trembling, hastened with them to the palace, and offered them as a present to his majesty, protesting that it was with the intention of so doing that she had bought them. The story is sufficiently laughable, but not so the reflection made upon it:—the monarch who was liable to these gusts of passion was the absolute lord and master of the lives and fortune of millions of people!

One day the great minister excused himself from attending a conference with the mission, because one of his fathers-in-law had broken a favourite looking-glass, at which his excellency was in such distress as to be utterly incapable of attending to public business. On another day, or rather at an unseasonable hour in the night, a messenger came post haste from the king, with a great doll or puppet, meant to represent a European. His majesty earnestly begged that the Englishmen would give directions for dressing up the doll so as to represent NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE; or, if this was too difficult, to dress the doll like a young Englishman. As our gentlemen had with them an adroit dirzee, or Hindu tailor, they said they would do their best. On the following morning, four court tailors and two court shoemakers made their appearance, with cloth, velvet, gold lace, and leather, and they and the dirzee among them managed to dress the puppet so as to please the king. His majesty had a decided taste for such amusements, and was, besides, a very pious Buddhist. Every day he was said to gild with his own hands a small image of Gautama, which he presented as an offering to some temple; thus at once combining the indulgence of a favourite passion with a religious duty.

Six days after the dressing of the doll—nothing having been done in the interval—a conference was put off, because the king was changing his residence from one portion of the palace to another; a matter which was said to give occupation day and night to his ministers. The talapoins assembled by thousands to give their benediction to the moving, in return for which they were well fed and presented with new bright yellow garments.

Since their audience at the palace the Englishmen had been allowed to stroll about the city and its immediate neighbourhood. They made many very interesting observations, and they met with one or two intelligent talapoins, who freely conversed with them on all subjects except those which related to the government of the country. On these last points they were as mute as the wooden idols in their temples. No leading question, no ingenuity, no kindness or promise, could extract from them a single word about the State or the dreaded Disposer of Heads. It also appears that wherever they went our countrymen were closely watched, and that many persons were afraid to converse with them, or even to approach them. Some of the bambooing which they witnessed in the streets must have been given on their account. Mr. Crawfurd says:—

"Every day brought to light some new occurrence calculated to display the ceaseless jealousy and suspicious character of the Siamese government. A government so arbitrary and unjust can place no reasonable reliance upon its own subjects, and seems to be in perpetual dread that they are to be incited to insurrection or rebellion by the example of strangers. This is unquestionably the true explanation of the hectic alarm and distrust which it entertains of all foreigners. One of the interpreters of the mission reported to-day the circumstances of a conversation which he held the day before with one of the brothers of the Prahklang, who was much in the minister's confidence. This person said, 'that the English were a dangerous people to have any connexion with, for that they were not only the ablest but the most ambitious of the European nations who frequented the East.' The interpreter answered, that it was impossible the English could have any ambitious views on Siam; 'for what,' said he, 'could they, who have so much already, and are accustomed to convenient countries, do with such a one as yours, in which there are neither roads nor bridges, and where you are ankle-deep in mire at every step? The reply, according to the interpreter's report was, 'Do not speak so; these people are clever and active, and the country would not be long in their possession before they made it such that you might sleep in the streets and rice-fields.' It may be necessary to mention that the person who made this communication was by birth a Siamese, and by disposition very talkative and communicative."

Siamese Mandarin.

Three days after the king had shifted his lodging the conference was taken up, at a late hour of the night, the time which the Siamese seem always to choose for the transaction of any important business. Many fine long phrases were thrown away. In matters of commerce the great mandarin was found to be impracticable. He insisted upon the king's right of preemption, stating that it was a royal prerogative which had existed from time immemorial, and which could not be surrendered or diminished. This was the same as saying that there could be no profitable or permanent trade with Europeans. "The mode of carrying on foreign trade at Siam," says our envoy, "is, in short, this:—When a ship arrives, the officers of government, under pretext of serving the king, select a large share of the most vendible part of the goods, and put their own price upon them. No private merchant, under penalty of heavy fine or severe corporal punishment, is allowed to make an offer for the goods until the officers of the court are all satisfied. A large portion, and often the whole of the export cargo, is supplied to the foreign merchant upon the same principle. The officers of government purchase the native commodities at the lowest market-rate, and sell them to the exporter at their own arbitrary valuation. The resident Chinese alone, from their numbers and influence, have got over this difficulty, and, of course, are carrying on a very large and remunerative commerce. This pernicious and ruinous practice of pre-emption is the only real obstacle to European trade in Siam, for the duties on merchandise or on tonnage are not excessive, and the country is fertile, *abounding in productions suited for foreign trade beyond any other with which I am acquainted.*"

As trade was the principal object of our mission, as the Siamese government would not admit its very first principle, and as they, in fact, yielded nothing of any importance nor entered into any agreement upon which the slightest dependence could be placed, we need not follow up the tedious conferences, which terminated, in about four months, with the departure of our mission.

An American ship and an English vessel from Calcutta were sent away about the same time, without being allowed to complete their cargoes, or even to sell some goods they had brought. Yet while they were in the Menam, fifteen Chinese junks, arriving from our settlements at Pulo-Penang and Singapore, disposed of their merchandise, although these included at least a hundred thousand Spanish dollars' worth of opium, *an article which is contraband, and strictly prohibited by government;* but which, in fact, is smoked by the government officers, and apparently by all who have a taste for it and can afford to pay its price. An English trading-vessel which the mission left behind them in the Menam underwent various unpleasant adventures, for which the Lord of the White Elephant ought to have been called to account. To obtain favour at court, the master of the vessel sent a white horse to the king, which he had brought for the purpose of making a present. The animal not being to the king's taste (it appears to have been rather a sorry beast), was sent back to the ship. As his decks were encumbered, and the keep of the horse very troublesome, the master caused it to be killed and thrown into the river. Although the poor skipper knew the national predilection for *white*, he was not versed in other national superstitions and laws. His openly killing a horse was a high crime and misdemeanour, but to kill a *white* horse, and then throw the carcass into the "Father of Waters," was an act of horrible sacrilege. His ship was boarded by an army of mandarins and soldiers, and he was cruelly bambooed and subjected to other punishments.

When Mr. Crawfurd left Siam, the king had 300 and his chief ministers 40 wives. Other mandarins had their harems stocked according to their wealth and greatness, for, as among the Turks and other Orientals, it is considered very mean to rest satisfied with only three or four women; and, as in those other countries, the common people are prevented by their poverty from indulging in polygamy. Yet it is said that, upon the whole, women are not very harshly treated in Siam. They are not shut up by themselves or rigorously excluded from the society of the other sex. The mandarins' wives are always gadding up and down the Menam in gilded canoes. This may be said with equal truth of the wives of Turkish pashas and effendis at Constantinople; but the Turkish ladies conceal their faces, and the ladies of Siam do not. All women, however, are regarded by the Siamese as beings of a lower order. Yet the gentlemen of our mission state that they never saw them subjected to any brutality or ill-treatment. Like the women of the poor in Cochin-China, the poor females in Siam perform all manner of hard labour, and for the same reason—so many of the men are taken from their own work by the heavy military conscription. They row the boats, carry burdens, plough, sow, and harrow. The brides are bought and sold as in China.

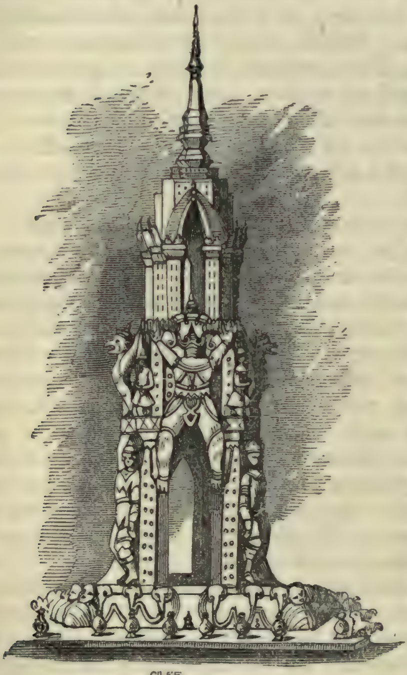
The Siamese are a most ceremonious people, and their government punishes a breach of etiquette as if it were a political crime. They are for ever crouching and bringing their foreheads on a level with the ground. A Siamese seldom stands or walks erect; an inferior never does either in the presence of a superior. In begging, flattering, and lying, they are thought to excel all their neighbours. The observation of Europeans has, however, been very limited, and, in fact, almost confined to the inhabitants of the capital, who are seldom the best specimens of any nation. Several Englishmen have been assured that the character of the provincial inhabitants is much better.

The government is as despotic as the absence of all legal restraint and a co-operating superstition can make it. Perhaps the Buddhism of the country is at once its great source and support. It inculcates the belief that the body of the king is sacred, as being the abode of a soul in the most advanced stage of migration towards the immortality and beatitude of Buddha. His subjects must never pronounce his name. That name is never mentioned in writing, and is said to be known only to a very few of his principal courtiers. Indeed, Mr. Crawfurd doubted whether, in reality, the king had any other name than the formidable epithets under which he was usually mentioned, as "Disposer of Heads," "Sacred Lord of Lives," "Owner of All," &c. No man must inquire after his health, because, however sick he may be, it must be taken for granted that he must be free from bodily infirmity. One must not speak of his feet, his hands, his mouth, his nose, or his ears, without prefixing the word "lordly," or the word "golden." To be admitted into the royal presence is to reach the "golden feet;" the king only hears through "golden ears." Every male inhabitant of the country from the age of twenty-one is compelled to serve the state full four months in every year, unless he be a talapoin, or a public functionary, or a father of a family with three sons of a serviceable age, or rich enough to compound in money or give a slave to government. The whole population enrolled for service is divided into two equal divisions, called the division of the right hand and the division of the left. Each of these is again subdivided into bands of thousands, hundreds, and tens, each of which has its own officer, who takes his title from the number of his band, as Decurion, Centurion, &c. The men are employed, as in Cochin-China, on every species of labour or government-work; but they are all bound to muster as soldiers whenever they may be called upon. Every public officer, on his first admission to office, takes an oath of allegiance, which is afterwards repeated once in every three years. The formula of this oath is described as horrible: all the terrors of superstition are involved in it, and the party calls down upon himself every curse and punishment of the present or a future state (naming in detail some of the most horrid and revolting) should he prove disloyal, or in any one particular untrue to his vow. Yet these oaths have been taken to a long succession of sovereigns, and insurrections and rebellions have been common in nearly every reign, and not a few of the kings have been murdered by their subjects.

The talapoins tell the people that there are twenty-two heavens and eight hells. After undergoing an indefinite number of transmigrations, every soul must go either to one of these paradises or one of these places of torment. Their highest notion of heaven amounts to nothing more than a condition of perfect apathy. Their infernal regions are filled with material horrors, tortures, and all imaginable punishments ; and these form the subjects of many of their temple and cloister pictures. The Siamese do not believe in one Supreme Eternal God, the creator and director of the universe. " These people," says Father Loubère, " are downright Atheists, if ever there were any." They say that the world was created by chance, and that it will be destroyed, reproduced, and destroyed again without end. They have no God greater than Gautama, and they believe that even his power will expire in about 5000 years. They believe in the existence of tutelary gods, and nearly every spot has its own guardian divinity ; but these divinities are of very inferior rank or power, having scarcely the attributes of the sprites, fays, and fairies, in which our people believed in the dark ages. Though the land is crowded with priests and temples, the Siamese seem to have the same want of religious zeal, earnestness, and real devotion, which characterises their neighbours in Anam. There are additional rules for the talapoins, but the moral precepts of the people may be said to be contained in five commandments :—1. Do not slay animals. 2. Do not steal. 3. Do not commit adultery. 4. Do not tell lies. 5. Do not drink wine.—Their disobedience to these laws is notorious, and with respect to most of them almost universal. They both kill and eat animals, they are not at all remarkable for honesty, they are great libertines, their word is hardly ever to be trusted, and they not only drink wine when they can get it, but indulge to excess in spirituous liquors and all manner of strong drinks. The strict observance of religious duties, or rather idolatrous forms and ceremonies, are expected only from the priests. The laity, if they pay the routine honours to the talapoins, bestow alms upon them, make them gifts, observe the usual holidays, visit the temples, etc., imagine they fulfil every duty of their situation, and delegate all spiritual concerns to the priesthood. That the balance may be equal, the priests are commanded to attend to none of the duties or occupations of this world, but to think only of Gautama and his celestial subordinates. Yet idolatry is made a great business of life in Siam, being at the same time the principal source of recreation and amusement. The merriest days of all the year are those devoted to Gautama, and the temples and cloisters on these days are turned into theatres and taverns. Every male in the kingdom must, at one period or another of his life, enter the priesthood. Some enter for years or for life, but others only for a few months. The king himself will be a priest for two or three days, going about for alms. There is no limit as to age, and it appears that, whether young or old, a man may quit the priesthood whenever he likes. But if a man be a husband and father, he must, before putting on the yellow dress, divorce his wife and provide for the maintenance of his family. Should he return to the cloisters after having once quitted them, he is booked for life, no second return to the world being allowed. The priests live together in monasteries, which are always attached to temples. These monasteries consist of a regular series of cells, not unlike those occupied by Franciscan and other mendicant monks. Like the monks, they are enjoined to observe a strict celibacy. It is on this account that no young unmarried female is to be seen near the temples. The talapoins must never work or possess money, must never mix in any worldly concerns, or show any curiosity or interest about them. Those are considered the most perfect in their calling who make the greatest show of stiffness, abstraction, and total indifference. In some of the monasteries there are hundreds of inmates, who appear to pass the best part of their time in sleep or slothful indolence. Early in the morning some of the community sally out in quest of alms. They breakfast at eight o'clock, and dine at noon. From that hour it is unlawful for them to take any solid food; but liquids are not prohibited, and though enjoined never to drink fermented liquors, they are believed to solace themselves in their retirement by tippling ardent spirits as freely as the laymen. In the evening they assemble in the oratory, and repeat prayers in a loud chanting tone, which may be heard a quarter of a mile off. The beating of the drum announces that the service and their day's duty are both over. Secular persons, whatever be their rank, must make an obeisance to a talapoin on passing or meeting him; and the talapoin must not return the salutation. Even parents and aged relations must bow reverentially to their own children and relations when they are dressed in yellow. Female Buddhists are not unknown in China, and are exceedingly numerous in Japan, Thibet, and other countries where Buddhism prevails. There are none in Siam. Aged females, however, are permitted to retire to some of the monasteries, where separate cells are allotted to them, and where they perform menial services for the talapoins. These old creatures throng about the temples, and are clamorous in their demands for charity.

The talapoins receive willingly enough the renegades of other religions, but they have seldom zeal or industry enough to look out for converts or to attempt the labours of conversion. The people resent innovations far more upon political or national than upon religious grounds. They seem to think that the divinities themselves may have their religious differences. Mr. Crawfurd asked one of them how it was that there were so many religious opinions in the world, and whether he thought such variety could be agreeable to superior intelligences or otherwise. The Siamese answered, that the different sects which existed were all schisms from one true religion, and that the variety of them was pleasing to some superior beings and displeasing to others, for the gods were not all of the same way of thinking,

If the great fundamental distinctive law of Buddhism were carried out from mere formula into practice, we should at least see gentleness and humanity in companionship with it; but as it is, there are no countries in Asia in which human life is held so cheap as in those in which the shedding of blood is considered as sacrilege. In Siam this has been, in a very great measure, ascribed to the institution of the talapoins. This theocracy has no effect whatever in the restraining or balancing the despotism of the sovereign, but, on the contrary, it tends in every way to support and confirm that despotism. The sovereign himself is not the theoretical but the real head of the religion of the country. The talapoins depend upon him for subsistence, as a word from his mouth would stop the alms which are given by the people. The talapoins depend entirely upon him for promotion in their order, and they have neither rank nor endowment independent of his will. They are not hereditary (nothing in Siam is); they have no civil employments; they have no tie to unite their interests with those of the people. They are therefore to be considered as a great standing army or force, ready at all times with their unearthly weapons to enforce obedience to the earthly tyrant.



Spire of Temple.

A temple or monastery, for they are nearly inseparable, is called in the language of the country, *wat* or *wata*. It is always a large square enclosure, consisting of four parts—a place of worship with the images of Gautama, an extensive open square, a library, and the cells of the talapoins. They are, as we have said, uncommonly numerous. Though mixed with much that is barbarous, and though never entirely in keeping or harmony, the place of worship is frequently a lofty and striking edifice, richly ornamented with mouldings in stucco work, and with carvings in wood richly gilded. They are all constructed of brick and mortar, the roof being made of timber covered with red tiles. They are always of a square form, with gable ends. The arch and dome seem nearly unknown to Siamese architecture. The buildings are never solid or endurable. The alluvial tract of the Menam affords no substantial materials; no secure funds can be left for the maintenance of the buildings; there is no hereditary priesthood interested in their preservation; and the great religious merit consists in building a temple, whereas there is little or none in repairing or keeping it up. Owing to very nearly the same reasons, all the mosques, medressehs, fountains, &c., are now going rapidly to ruin in every part of the Ottoman empire. There, however, they have in most parts stone. Although Bang-kok was little more than forty years old when Mr. Crawfurd visited it, many of its temples were already fallen to pieces, and most of those described by European writers in the old capital, Yuthia, at the end of the seventeenth century as splendid edifices, were decayed, abandoned, and in a state of ruin, the principal idols having been transported to the present seat of government. Near to every temple there are detached spires, of various sizes and elevations. They resemble the dagoba, which are found near the Buddhist temples in Ceylon; and some of them when new, with the gilding fresh upon them, look very bright and pretty. Some of them measure, from their broad base on the ground to the top of the almost invisible point in which they terminate, more than 200 English feet.

In each of the temples the images of Gautama are endless. They are of all sizes, from the huge idol of thirty feet to the diminutive puppet of a few inches. In design, they are as rude and spiritless as can be, but they are all well coated with gilding. The quantity of gold annually consumed in this way, and in gilding the interior and exterior of the temples, must be very great. Few of the idols are of cast metal. The smaller ones are mostly of wood, and the larger of brick-work and plaster.

Nothing can well be less like a place of worship than the interior of one of these temples on a holy day. The following is the description of a scene in one of the greatest of the temples, on one of the most solemn of their festivals:—

“The votaries were of all ages and sexes, and the women not less numerous than the men. The bulk were Siamese, but there were also Cochin-Chinese, Cambojans, people of Loo and Pegu, and a great number of Chinese. Instead of the gravity and decorum which might have been looked for in a temple, the demeanour of the visitors was noisy, clamorous, and playful. They were at one moment prostrate before the idols, and at another engaged in some frolic, or singing an idle song. One man, for example, coolly lighted his cigar at an incense-rod, which a devotee had just placed as an offering before one of the idols; and another as deliberately sat down before an image and played a merry air on a flageolet, while many were engaged at the same shrine in performing their devotions.

"The women mixed in the crowd, unveiled, as indeed they always are, and were neither shy nor timid; on the contrary, there was considerable familiarity between the sexes: and our conductors, Mohammedans, hinted to us, although I cannot pretend to say with how much truth, that the temples were frequent places of assignation. All this levity certainly formed a very striking contrast to the decent and reverential devotion of a Christian, or even of a Mohammedan people, and struck us with surprise.

"The women were the most decorous in the performance of their religious duties, and also the most assiduous. They went about sprinkling the images with perfumes, and making offerings to them. The oblations were of various descriptions, such as lighted incense-rods, fresh lotus and other flowers, chaplets of artificial flowers, and cloths of various descriptions. There were, indeed, few of the many idols which I have mentioned, that were not decked with a scarf of silk or cotton cloth, commonly of a yellow colour, the offering of some votary. The Chinese, on their part, burned sacrificial paper, and hung up as votive offerings, from the roofs of the temples, banners of cloth or paper with Chinese inscriptions upon them.

"No officiating priests were to be seen, and in truth, as I have already mentioned, there was not a talapoin within the precincts of the temple, except the few whom we met in the library; and these were distant from the crowd, and appeared to take no share whatever in what was passing.

"I should mention, that those who frequented the temple were not confined to the lower classes. One group of well-dressed females was pointed out to us, consisting of above thirty persons. These were, one of the concubines and an infant child of the Prince Krom-chiat, with their attendants. The infant, apparently not above three years of age, appeared to have been well-tutored, for he went through his prostrations with great composure before the principal image in the central temple. Several of the followers were young and handsome; and we were somewhat surprised at hearing our conductors request us to point out any amongst them that we might desire to form a matrimonial connexion with during our stay in Siam."*

The best of the accounts that we have seen of these talapoins is that given by the late M. Bruguière, in the "Annales de la Foi."

The admission of laymen to the priesthood takes place in the month of July, at a season which missionaries call the Siamese Lent. A little before this time, the prince bears in pomp to the pagodas some arrack and some betel for the talapoins; a piece of wood for cleaning the teeth, and flowers of the nymphæa for the candidate. They place nine in a boat with an old talapoin. The friends accompany him and the curious also. The cortège moves towards the pagoda at the sound of instruments. They sing licentious songs in honour of the gods, but in language not understood. Arrived at the pagoda, the candidate is introduced into the hall of ceremonies; the superior, sitting on a mat, tailor-fashion, holds in one hand a fan, in the other a mallet of gilded wood. The candidate postrates himself before him. The superior asks, What has been your conduct in the world? Are you married? Are you in debt? Do your creditors and your parents consent to your entrance into the *wat*?—Concluding by enjoining him to throw from him his profane dress (the dress in white), and to clothe himself with yellow; which being done, he is then called *p'ra* (a god); putting a fan and a pot in his hands, they adore him. The talapoins do not salute anybody, not even princes; but the people must salute, or rather adore them, for these men are called gods. The salutation consists in joining the hands and bringing them in front. These strange divinities are not unchangeable—it is the robe which deifies them. If they leave it off, or if it be taken from them, they become men. After three months' residence in a pagoda, a priest may abandon his state and retake it at will. They cannot make a profession until they are twenty years of age. Before they can obtain a step in the hierarchy they must return, for a time, to the busy world, and then come back to the monastery and put on the yellow robe a second time. The superior of a great temple has much the same authority as a bishop in the Roman Catholic church. His jurisdiction extends over a certain number of pagodas. It is said that at his death a council assembles; a layman, nominated by the king, presides and collects the suffrages, and declares by whom the vacancy is to be filled. The talapoin-general, who is the chief of the whole hierarchy, has jurisdiction over all the wats or pagodas in the kingdom. At his death the king chooses his successor.

---

* J. Crawfurd, "Journal of an Embassy to Siam, &c."

Their Lent is not a season of mortification. It commences in July and terminates in November. During all this time they preach once a-day, either in their pagodas or elsewhere, inviting the people by the sound of the gong to come and hear them. A young priest appears bearing a great vase, which contains their devotional books enveloped in pieces of rich silk stuff. The congregation, all prostrate, listen with seeming avidity to absurd and revolting recitals, mixed with indecent anecdotes, often invented and improvised by the preacher. At the close of the sermon, notice is given that he who will make the preacher a present of good viands, well seasoned, will acquire much spiritual merit and advantage. If his discourse has given much satisfaction the talapoin usually retires with his baskets filled with meats, fruits, cakes, and money. The rich invite them to preach in their private houses, and make them the same offerings. In short, during Lent, the talapoins feast even more than they preach, and those feast the most who have among them the most popular and attractive preachers. For the talapoins, their Lent is a season to grow fat.

They hold that there are angels who have existed from the remotest times, and who are charged with the government of heaven and earth. These angels, though far more perfect and powerful than men, are yet not gods. Heaven they divide into twelve stories, of a concave form. These twelve heavens are sustained by a very high mountain. The angels are distributed through these twelve heavens, some of them being white, some red, some green, and some of other colours, but all of them being of colossal statuary. In the midst of the heavens there is a great basin, in which the angels bathe. When too many angels go to bathe at the same time the celestial basin overflows, and this causes rain upon earth. Lightning is caused in two ways; first, a woman shakes a mirror in the air to mock us; second, the angels strike fire with colossal flints. Thunder is caused by a horrible giant who lives in the air: when he growls at his wife, he causes the earth to tremble; but, not always contented with grumbling, he sometimes follows her, hatchet in hand, and if in the paroxysm of his fury he lets the hatchet fall, it produces a thunderbolt.

The sun and moon are gods and brothers, who at one time were men [the elder of the two gave a great sum of gold every day to the priests, who, according to this cosmogony, were living and flourishing before there was either sun or moon]: the younger gave a great sum in silver; therefore one became the sun, and the other the moon. There was a third brother who had no generosity, and who only gave rice to the priests. He was punished for his avarice by being metamorphosed into an exceedingly black monster, made up of nothing but arms, hands, nails, and ears. This chastisement has made him jealous of the happiness and splendour of his brothers, the sun and moon; he has long been endeavouring to kill them; he has frequent combats with them; and these are the causes of our solar and lunar eclipses. The Siamese always take the part of the sun and moon in these conflicts, and hence the great noise made by them to frighten the very black monster, and induce him to give up his prey. During the time of an eclipse nothing is heard but guns firing, gongs beating, trumpets blowing, voices shouting! The king causes the cannon of the fortress to be fired, and the uproar is complete. They censure Christians for their indifference. "You do not care for the heavenly luminaries, since you do not help them at their hour of need, and in their pressing danger." With them, of course, it is the sun that revolves and the earth that stands still. At his rising the sun mounts an elephant; when he reaches the meridian he dismounts and rides a buffalo, and thus descends the heaven until he conceals himself behind the mountain which sustains all the twelve concave heavens. As for that shadowy appearance, called by our peasants and children the Man in the Moon, the opinions of Siamese philosophers are divided. Some say that it is a great tree growing on the face of the god, some that it is an old woman pounding rice, while the more learned affirm that it is certainly a man occupied in making a basket.

The earth, the air, sea and rivers, are all gods. The earth is a flat dotted over with hills and mountains; a large buffalo stands underneath the earth and supports it with his horns; but they do not explain what it is that supports the buffalo. The tides are occasioned by an enormous crab; when the crab goes out of its cavern the waters rise; when it enters, the tide falls. It is not merely the common people who are fed with these senseless fables; the best-instructed men in Siam believe in them, and are said to lose their patience if you question their theories. Only two of their gods—the sun and moon—are visible; but they occasionally endow their stone and plaster images, and their grim uncouth idols, with actual life, motion, and appetite.*

As among other Asiatic nations, a smattering of education is very generally diffused among the Siamese: that is to say, they can read and write awkwardly and imperfectly; but one does not meet amongst them, as in Hindustan, with either dexterous scribes or clever accountants, almost all their arithmetical calculations especially being made with the assistance of the Chinese swanpan. Our travellers could discover scarcely any schools. The language of religion is the Pali, and in this widely-diffused tongue all their works of devotion, and apparently nearly all of the few other books they possess, are written. The talapoins of the upper orders keep the knowledge of the Pali pretty much to themselves, yet, a few years ago, they had neither a grammar nor a dictionary of that language, which they learned with difficulty, and must have known very imperfectly. A smattering of Pali is, however, rather common among the people, as so many of them have lived in the monasteries at some time or other. The most learned of the priests know nothing of the Sanscrit language, except by reputation.

---

* "Annales de la Foi." This work, which is a continuation of the well-known "Lettres Edifiantes," occasionally contains very curious notices of these Indu-Chinese nations by French and other Roman Catholic missionaries. The blemishes of the work are the same which disfigured its predecessor.

"In other rude states of society," says our envoy, "the priesthood is commonly the depositary of whatever learning and science may exist; but of this advantage the Siamese and the followers of Buddha are deprived by a precept of religion, which proscribes to the priesthood all temporal learning, and makes every acquirement unconnected with this subject profane and sinful. The consequence of this is, that medicine, astrology, and astronomy, the favourite sciences of semi-barbarians, are abandoned to the casual culture of a few strangers. At Bang-kok, we found that all the medical practitioners were Chinese, or Cochin-Chinese; that these were in much repute; and that they imported all their medicines or nostrums from China. Divination and astronomy are now, as at all former periods of our acquaintance with Siam, in the hands of the Brahmins settled in the country. It was from these that we obtained the first Indian astronomical tables brought to Europe; but the present race, from all that I could learn, are very ignorant, and even incapable of making the necessary calculations for regulating the kalendar, which is at present effected with the assistance of the Pekin almanack, the arrival of which is anxiously looked for by the first Chinese junk of the season, which is commonly one of those from the island of Haenan."

The Siamese language itself is characterised by great simplicity of grammatical structure. It is said to be copious, or rather to possess that species of redundancy which belongs to the dialects of many semi-barbarous nations. It is monosyllabical, like the Chinese, but has no other resemblance to that language.

The literature of the Siamese—as all Europeans agree, and as might be expected—is meagre and uninteresting, and far less imaginative than that of the Hindus, Persians, or Arabs. The few translated specimens are indeed singularly tame and puerile. All compositions in the vernacular language, with the exception of business letters, statements of accounts, and the like, are said to be metrical. They consist of legends, romances, songs, and a few histories or chronicles. In the songs, which the people are exceedingly fond of singing or chanting, the morality is said to be exceedingly loose, and they are usually accompanied by gestures which set modesty at defiance. The romances, though crowded with extravagant and supernatural fictions, are extremely wearisome to our taste. Some of them appear to be incredible. There is one about Rama that fills four hundred cantos or parts, and when dramatised, takes up six weeks in acting. They have no dramatic compositions; that is to say, no plays containing a regular written dialogue. Their plays are founded on their romances, the actors being left to their own wits for converting the story into suitable dialogue. The prompter stands by, and refreshes their memories by reading the romance.

The Pali books, and such works in the vernacular as are at all esteemed, are, like the well-known books of Ceylon, written on slips of palm-leaf with an iron stylus, a black powder being thrown over the letters, which are thus rendered sufficiently distinct and legible. These slips are from a foot to a foot and a half long. They are tied up in small bundles, and very generally richly gilt, and painted on the edges, forming thus a volume, which is carefully placed in an envelope of silk or cotton cloth. It appears that the best of the monasteries seldom contain more than one hundred volumes. Whether they treat of religion or of any other subject, the people seem to consider them merely as sources of amusement, as we regard our lightest novels. They instil neither devotion nor patriotism, and have little or no hold on the popular mind. It must be, in part, owing to the defect of their literature, that the Siamese are never earnest or truly serious, except in pursuing the common business of life, and looking after their own immediate interests.

A grammar of the language has been very recently printed at Bang-kok—"Grammatica Linguæ Thai." Auctore D. J. Bapt. Pallegoix, Episcopo Mallensi, Vicario-Apostolico Siamensi. Bangkok, Anno Domini 1850."—This production of an ingenious missionary will be found very useful to any

European desirous of studying Thai or Siamese. The volume contains some very curious specimens of native literature and other interesting matters.

Lucus a non lucendo! The Siamese call themselves *Tai*, that is the free people—the people *par excellence* in the enjoyment of freedom. "If ever," says a recent missionary, "a name was misapplied it is here; for all the Siamese are born and die slaves of the prince and the great officers. After having toiled all day on the public roads they receive sometimes a little rice, sometimes hard blows. High and low, they are all the slaves of their king. But their slavery does not end here. Children are sold by their parents, wives are the slaves of their husbands, the common people are liable to be called upon at any time by the local officers for their services, while the officers and nobility have rendered their knees and elbows callous by their daily prostrations before his majesty, who may appropriately be named the master of a nation of slaves." *

Deduct being rowed on the Menam, tobacco-smoking, opium-smoking, cock-fighting, and drinking, and the Siamese gentry will be found to have scarcely any other amusements. In the time of Father le Blanc, one of the court spectacles consisted of combats between tigers and elephants, like those which are kept up in Anam. "Whether it be through fear or cunning," says the Jesuit father, "I will not say, but the tiger stretches himself upon the earth and lies as if he were dead, but seizing his opportunity, he springs at the elephant's trunk, and holds fast on with his powerful claws. To avoid this cunning attack, the experienced elephant enters the arena with his trunk up in the air, as straight as a lance, and presenting only his tusks to the tiger; and then, while the tiger is thinking only of the tusks, he brings down his trunk, and either throws his enemy to a great distance, or crushes him at one blow. It is a cruel sport, but much admired."

Although they are the vainest people in all the East, the Siamese are really ignorant in arts as in arms. The imitative faculty they possess, but they do not apply it to sculpture or to painting, or to any refined art. Hitherto it appears to have been limited to ship-building, and here they have worked, not only after European models, but under European instructors and masters.

---

* "Chinese Repository," vol. xiii.

"As for their dress," says Father Loubère, "they can scarcely be said to have any, for the common people merely hang a piece of cloth round their loins." Even the mandarins go barefooted, and generally leave a good part of the body quite naked. Both sexes wear fewer clothes than any other tolerably civilised people in the East. Their heads are always naked, like their feet. The garment for the ladies consist of a piece of silk, or cotton cloth, which is passed round the loins and thighs, and secured in front in its own folds, leaving the knees entirely bare. Some of the highest classes permit the ends of the dress to hang loosely in front. The only other material portion of the costume is a narrow scarf, commonly of silk, and this is worn round the waist, or thrown carelessly over the shoulders. When in this last situation it forms an imperfect covering for the bosoms of the females, which, however, are much more frequently wholly exposed. The poorest women sometimes wear a tight vest, for comfort or convenience. The colours of which the Siamese are fondest are dark and sombre. This taste is common among frivolous, gay nations: the volatile Persian dresses himself in dark robes; the dull, sombre Turk, wherever he follows his own inclination, dresses himself in the brightest and gayest of colours. White, with the Siamese, is the colour of deep mourning. Their mode of dressing the hair is singular and grotesque. "A man, when he is full dressed, ought to have the whole hair of the head closely shaven, with the exception of a circle on the crown, about four inches in diameter, where the hair is allowed to remain of the length of about an inch and a half or two inches. As the process of shaving the head, however, is not very punctually performed, it commonly happens that the common hair of the head is an inch or two long, and the circle on the crown double that length; the whole, from its natural strength, staring and standing upright, so as to convey not only a whimsical, but a very wild look. Women do not shave the hair of their heads, but always crop it short, leaving also a circle on the crown, which is effected by plucking out the hairs in a narrow line from the brows backward. No turban or other covering to the head is worn by either sex, with the exception of a fantastic conical cap put on by the chiefs at certain formal court ceremonies. In this respect, as well as in the mode of wearing the hair, the Siamese agree entirely with the Kambojans, but differ from the people of Pegu and Ava, who wear their hair long, and cover the head with a handkerchief. The Siamese of both sexes in the upper ranks sometimes wear a kind of slipper.

Jewellery and trinkets are not much used. The men seldom or never wear ear or finger rings; and amongst females of condition the most usual ornaments are gold necklaces, bracelets, and armlets.

The Siamese, like the Chinese and other nations of the farther East, permit the nails of their hands to grow to an unsightly and inconvenient length.

All the nails of both hands are treated in this manner, and the practice is general with both sexes, and with persons of all ranks; the only difference being, that persons of condition carry the practice to the greatest extreme. Some successful amateurs may be seen with nails two inches long; and as cleanliness is not a national virtue, this usage has a very offensive appearance to a stranger.

The Siamese have the same prejudice against white teeth with many other Eastern people; and at an early age they stain them with an indelible black, without, however, filing and destroying the enamel of the front teeth, like the Indian islanders. In other respects, they evince no disposition to disfigure the natural form of the body. Their neighbours, the Burmans and Peguans, generally tattoo the whole or part of the body; the Siamese do not tattoo at all.

They also differ from their neighbours in the manner in which they dispose of their dead. Funeral rites are among them matters of great moment, and it appears that the dead of all classes are burned. The bodies of the great are always kept for a long time embalmed in coffins, before being consumed on the funeral pile. The reader will remember the coffin of the governor's brother, behind the curtain in the dining-hall. The period of keeping the body is determined by the rank of the deceased, and extends from one month to a whole year. On the death of a prince or princess of the blood, the rites are said to be exceedingly costly, and really splendid. When the king died in 1824, they built an immense edifice, in the form of a temple, to serve as a pile for burning the body; and the whole of the exterior as well as interior of the building was painted partly green and partly yellow, and in some places covered with gold and silver leaf. From the roof were suspended many ornaments of solid gold and silver, as well as an infinite variety of European chandeliers, lamps, etc. The total cost was prodigious, yet all it produced was merely the show of a day.

The bodies of Siamese of all ranks are, with few exceptions, burned upon a funeral pile, and the spot chosen for this purpose is always the court of one of the temples. Some of the temples are more frequented with this view than others. Being told that a funeral was to take place, Mr. Crawfurd and his party went to one of these favoured temples. As usual, the hour of noon was fixed for the ceremony, which was just about to commence as our countrymen arrived. The body, in a coffin which rested upon a bier, was lying under some fig-trees, of which there were numbers in the court or gardens surrounding the temple. The coffin and bier together were at least seven feet high, and, instead of having a dismal funereal look, had a gay and lightsome air. The bier was covered with white cloth, and the coffin itself with a gold tissue, on a red ground, while its lid was decorated with tinsel ornaments. Over the coffin there was a canopy of white cloth, ornamented all round with festoons of fresh jessamine flowers. Both bier and coffin, besides these ornaments, were decorated with cornices of fresh plantain stem, fancifully carved.

"The different parts of the ceremony were ushered in by the discordant music of a brass flageolet, a gong, and two drums. The first part of the ceremony in order was the reading of prayers. This was done by a priest of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, from a pulpit under a wooden shed in the court-yard. The prayers were in the Pali language, and read from slips of palm-leaf. A small circle of persons, chiefly females, sat on a platform underneath the pulpit, with a taper before each. They were neither serious nor attentive, and most probably did not understand one word of what was said. The prayers lasted about half an hour.

"After the ceremony of reading prayers, the priests were called upon to act their part. To the head of the coffin there was attached a piece of white cloth, at least twenty feet long, of which they laid hold, ranging themselves on each side. In this situation they muttered three short prayers. This being over, the coffin and bier were dismantled, and the cloth which covered them distributed as presents among the talapoins."

The next part of the ceremony was that of washing the body. This was performed by one of the secular attendants of the temple, whose fee for each funeral is one tical. Upon the present occasion he certainly earned it well, for the body had been kept for four days, with the thermometer often above 96°, and was therefore in a most offensive state.

"The deceased had been a man about sixty years of age, and considerably above the lowest rank in life. His sons, daughters, and relatives attended the funeral, and, indeed, took an active share in the performance of the different rites. Their demeanour was grave and decent; but no symptom of grief escaped from any of them, with the exception of one individual, who might well be called the chief mourner. This was a young woman, about eighteen or twenty years of age, and, as we were told, the favourite daughter of the deceased. She was in mourning—that is, had her head shaved, and was dressed in white. She sat down before the bier, and at sight of the body began weeping and sobbing bitterly, and appeared to be in real distress.

"The bier, with a layer of wet earth laid upon it, upon which was placed a heap of dried fuel, constituted the funeral pile. This circumstance distinguished the funeral from a mere ordinary one; for on common occasions the bodies are simply burned upon a low earthen terrace, which was close at hand, and on which were still lying several heaps of vulgar and neglected ashes.

"The pile being thus prepared, the body was replaced in the coffin, and carried three successive times round the pile, borne by the sons and sons-in-law of the deceased, and followed by the favourite daughter, uttering loud lamentations. It was then deposited upon the pile. A number of wax-tapers and little incense-rods were now distributed to the by-standers. A priest, ejaculating a prayer, set the first fire to the pile, and was followed by the rest, and among others by ourselves, for we had been offered tapers and particularly requested to join in the ceremony. As soon as the first flame had ascended, the daughter began to distribute small pieces of money to some beggars who were present, and who consisted chiefly of elderly women, dressed in white, who reside in the temple, and who perform menial services for the priests. The male relations of the deceased at the same time went through a most fantastic ceremony. They tied their clothes in a bundle, and standing on each side of the pile tossed them over it six successive times, taking great care not to allow them to fall to the ground. The object of this formality we could not learn, nor was it probably capable of any rational explanation. This ended the ceremony,—the relations, however, continuing by the pile until the body was consumed."

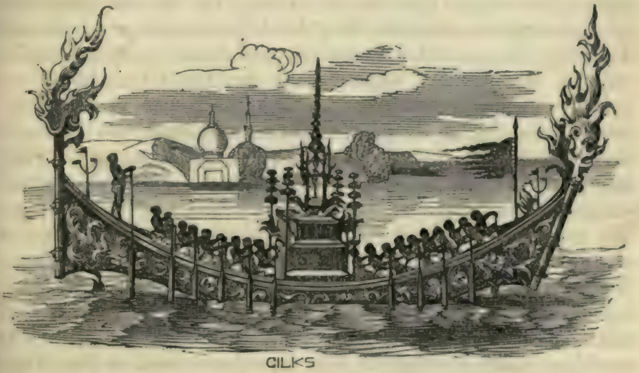
There is no evidence to prove, that within the quarter of a century there have been considerable improvements even in Siam; but these appear to have been all of a material and not moral nature, and we have no data whereon to form an estimate of their real amount. One thing, however, is sufficiently clear,—for all these improvements the Siamese have been indebted to their intercourse with Europeans and Anglo-Americans.

The hatred of Christian missionaries, which commenced its activity with the Revolution (in 1688), that overthrew the Greek Constantine and expelled the French, has been very much moderated.

The Roman Catholic bishop, who was poor and contemned, and little better than a prisoner in 1822, has now ample liberty and a decent revenue; and in addition to a good many missionaries of his church, many American Protestant missionaries are residing at Bang-kok or in its neighbourhood. The missionary establishment of the Romanists is an unpretending edifice, but comfortable and prettily situated near the great river; its little chapel is crowned with the Christian Cross, which rises meekly and modestly among the tall spires and other ambitious symbols of paganism and idolatry.

The Romanists have a printing-press, and the Americans another; and both seem to be actively employed.

A little below Bang-kok the government has erected dock-yards, which are described as being commodious, and, for that country, magnificent. There are one or two dry docks. Here have been built a few fine ships, which have been added to the King of Siam's navy. They were constructed under the immediate direction of an English shipwright. Unless the capricious government have recently altered its regulations, vessels of all nations that may have met with damage at sea are thoroughly and cheaply repaired in the dock-yards. The whole establishment has been described as excellent, and as invaluable to vessels meeting with misfortunes in the stormy seas of China. In the hands of a European power the docks would become of immense importance, and render a very high annual revenue. The shipwrights, carpenters, and labourers employed were kept upon regular pay, and there was always plenty of work for them: for what with their own vessels and the numberless Chinese and other junks that traded to and fro, they seldom passed a day without some kind of job. The money for these repairs and the dock-charges were all paid into the government treasury.



Royal Barge.

In the year 1840, the king possessed five or six good-sized ships, built and rigged in our manner. One of these vessels carried forty guns, but the calibre is not mentioned. Oddly enough they bore English names, as the "Caledonia," "Conqueror," &c., an Englishman having been requested to name them at their launching. The "Conqueror" was soon lost in a typhoon, and the "Caledonia" soon afterwards nearly shared the same fate. If this infant navy were properly manned and cared for, it might help to exterminate those nests of pirates always to be found among the islands and inlets of this very imperfectly explored gulf, in which there are many creeks and deep inlets never seen by a European eye. But the Siamese do not make good sailors, and the Malays, by whom their vessels are principally manned, are not, in their hands, very amenable to discipline. Moreover, the Siamese officers on board are apt to be either exceedingly great cowards, or as obstinate as they are ignorant. Being nearly always on bad terms with their neighbours the Cochin-Chinese, the royal fleet is often employed in cruising against that enemy. The combats which take place are described as ludicrous in the extreme. They fire shotted guns, the balls of which fall half a mile or more short of the mark; neither will approach the other unless he can see that he is by very far the stronger, and at the slightest accident they haul their wind or sheer off. In 1840, the quarrel with the court of Anam being unusually violent, his Siamese majesty sent out the "Caledonia" to cruise and wreak vengeance. This ship was at the time commanded by an English captain, who had two or three English officers under him. But, being bent upon trade and profit, as well as war and revenge, the king put a great cargo of sugar on board his man-of-war, and this obliged the captain to land all his between-deck guns, and some of the guns of the upper tier. Hereby the ship lost her trim. The crew was most motley, consisting of Malays, Manillamen, Gentoos, Malabars, a few Arabs, and a sprinkling of Siamese. The Malays were smart seamen, but the rest could no more distinguish one rope from another than they could help being mortally sea-sick. A body of marines had been shipped—such marines as only a semi-barbarous country could furnish. They were utterly ignorant of war and of real discipline, but having smart dresses, and tolerably good muskets and side-arms, and being drilled to stand straight and to keep line and step, they cut a pretty good figure on board until they got out to sea, and the vessel began to roll or pitch. Then these royal marines were to be looked for in the scuppers, or behind the cook's galley, the muskets of the sentries strewing the decks. No feat of arms was performed, no attack on the Cochin-Chinese attempted. In truth, the

English officers were averse to making any captures, as they knew the horrible condition of slavery to which their prisoners would be reduced in Siam. The cruise, however, was not altogether a tame one. Off the coast of Kamboja they were caught by a terrific storm, the ship sprang a leak, the sugar was all thrown overboard or melted, or mixed with salt water and entirely spoiled, and the "Caledonia" ran back to the Menam, and made for the dockyards at Bang-kok, which she did not reach without great difficulty and danger.*

At this time efforts were made to improve the native army, and several European officers were engaged for the purpose. From 15,000 to 20,000 men were put into a uniform, not much unlike that which was first worn by our Sepoys in India. They were furnished with muskets and bayonets, and drilled to the use of them, and to form line, march, and perform a few simple evolutions. But the muskets were very often found without ramrods, and the bayonet was often as crooked as a ram's horn. Courage or military ardour was not to be expected; but the men showed little aptitude for the service. The king had collected a corps of artillery and a few guns near the palace, but the guns were never allowed to be fired, even with blank powder, lest the noise should hurt his nerves and disturb his hundreds of wives.

The hereditary prince, or expected successor (we believe he now reigns), was at that period Chou-Faa, who has been described as a very remarkable person—as a sort of Siamese Peter the Great. He was said to be very fond of the society of Europeans, very eager to obtain European knowledge and science, and to diffuse it among his countrymen. According to the same reports, which, in some measure, require confirmation, he had learned a little English, read books of mathematics and fortifications, wore an elegant European uniform with epaulettes, braidings and facings, and trousers of the proper length and cut; and in short from a rough, unpolished Siamese, he had turned himself into a clever fellow and very pretty gentleman.

Like other reforming Orientals the Siamese will discover that the red jacket does not make the soldier, and that European civilisation does not lie entirely in dress. The Turks were declining and dying out of Europe a century and a-half before the late Sultan Mahmoud began his reforms; but they have never marched so rapidly along the road to ruin as since they threw away their turbans, loose robes, and papoushes, to put on jackets and tight pantaloons, and dress like Franks.

---

* F. A. Neale, "Narrative of a Residence at the Capital of the Kingdom of Siam, &c." London, 1852.

As affording, in the Menam with its dockyards, the only excellent harbour of refuge between China and Singapore, Siam must continue to be an object of great importance to all the nations trading in those seas. That port of refuge she will not be allowed to shut or to keep long closed. Could treaties of commerce and free intercourse be concluded, they would prove equally beneficial to natives and to foreigners, and the otherwise inevitable recourse to hostile armaments might be avoided. The country, even in its present state, produces in exuberant quantities much that we want, and the people want much that we produce.

This country has always looked up to China as to the great, extensive, opulent, and civilised nation of the East. Every year a Siamese tribute-bearer went to Canton, with certain privileges and exemptions for the junk that bore him, and for the cargo of merchandise which it carried at the same time. In addition to a lucrative trade with the Celestial Empire, Siam derives vast benefit from those industrious Chinese colonists of whom we have spoken. Under these circumstances, the King of Siam could not view our Chinese war with indifference, or look on our treaty of peace as an unimportant event. There may have been at Bang-kok an increase of the imaginary dread of British power, created by the easy progress of our arms in China; but the treaty brought real, substantial, and essential advantages, even for Siam. That political arrangement, as we have already said, was not conceived in any selfish, narrow view; we wished that, as far as possible, all the nations that carry on trade might profit by its stipulations. The freedom secured to the ships and commerce of other foreign countries extended likewise to the junks and trade of the Siamese. They had hitherto been considered as mere interlopers, liable to extortion, but they are now (solely by virtue of our treaty) admitted as traders, who may visit the five ports on payment of very moderate charges to the Chinese. The consequence has been an extension of commerce, a greater certainty in the result of mercantile speculation, and the safe employment of a larger amount of capital. Therefore, if now convinced of the far-reaching power of Great Britain, the Siamese are bound to acknowledge that it has been used to remove the shackles which fettered their own trade with China. In fact, they owe us a debt of gratitude.

After the commercial agreements concluded by Mr. Crawfurd in 1827, no further attempt at negociation with this court was made until the year 1850, when the enterprising, indefatigable Sir James Brooke was commissioned by her Majesty's government to open new negociations at Bang-kok. This attempt, however, met with the same ill success as had attended a previous essay made by the United States. The old king appeared to be determined to imitate the exclusive and excluding policy of Japan and Anam, by shutting himself in from direct intercourse with foreign nations. This system, —as we once more repeat, and as France, America, and England are daily proclaiming,—cannot, and will not, in the present state of the world and in the almost hourly developement of steam navigation and other means of transport and communication, be long allowed to exist and to raise up barriers in the highways of the most powerful nations. It was understood last year (1852) that a renewed attempt was soon to be made at Bang-kok. Our vantage ground in Ava ought now to give weight to our overtures. The entire possession of Pegu, with Martaban, Tavoy, and Mergui, renders the British next-door neighbours of the Siamese; our advanced posts can converse across a boundary river with the Siamese, and for the distance of nearly 300 miles our frontier runs parallel with theirs, with nothing between them but streams and hills! If the court at Bang-kok take a lesson of its own exceeding weakness and our exceeding strength, this contiguity will induce it to remodel its system. This would be the course of wisdom, and would lead to sure profit. But we are not, therefore, to conclude that this will be the course adopted by the Siamese mandarins. All Oriental despotisms are apt to be stone-blind to their own benefit and advantages. The dread created by the close, immediate contact of our arms, may render them quite insensible to everything else, or their pride and rage at seeing us in quiet possession of territories which they themselves conquered and occupied at no remote period may hurry them into actual hostilities, and even into a league with their old and detested enemies, the Burmese. But, in every case, we believe that many years must pass ere tranquillity be established along the frontiers of Siam and Pegu. For ages those borders have never been quiet. In times of peace, as in times of war, there have constantly been forays and kidnappings carried on between the two peoples, and we do not see any possible distribution of our Sepoys or other forces by which these evil practices are to be suddenly or easily prevented. A conquest of their country would be easy, but is not desirable. How are we possibly to occupy all the regions that we have already annexed? Perhaps some chastisement at Bang-kok may be found advisable, in the way of a lesson and rebuke to the pride of the Siamese court.

AVA OR THE BURMAN EMPIRE.

This country is also important in its size and productions. It is situated between 15°, 45°, and 27° 20′ north latitude, and 93° and 99° east longitude. But, both in latitude and longitude, the qualifying term *about* ought to be employed, as all the limits have never been accurately fixed, and have been subjected to changes, according to the chances of war or the submissiveness of dependent states. Taking the widest limits, the length is 800 miles from north to south, the breadth about 300 miles, and the total area about 200,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Assam and an unexplored mountainous country; on the south by the Gulf of Martaban; on the west by the hill countries of Cachar, Tipperah, Chittagong, and Arracan; and on the east by the Chinese province of Yun-nan and the river Saluen, which divides it from Siam. For the distance of 80 or 90 miles from the sea, the country is low, flat, and moist, like the lower parts of Siam and Anam. It then gradually rises into hills until, towards the north, it becomes decidedly mountainous. It is watered by four great rivers, the Irrawaddi, the Saluen, the Setany, and the Kyen-duen, all of which have a southerly course. It contains a vast number of lakes; those in the lower provinces are very numerous, but small, there being more than one hundred in the province of Bassein alone. Some of the lakes of the upper country, though not yet visited by Europeans, are known to be extensive. The empire has about 240 miles of sea-coast, extending from Cape Negrais to the mouth of the Saluen river. These extensive regions, like those of Siam, exhibit almost everywhere symptoms of decay and of declining population. Nature has been bountiful in her gifts, but the vices of government and people have struck the land, as it were, with sterility.

It is not easy to understand the political geography of Ava. The territories most distant from the capital seem to be divided into large provinces, or vice-royalties; but the divisions and the extent of the powers of the governors are said to vary from time to time. The most frequent civil division in all the lower part of the empire seems to be that into myos, or townships. In all, there are said to be 4600 in the whole empire; but as these townships again vary in size, there is no estimating the population by them. Very few of the cities or important towns contain more than 3000 or 4000 inhabitants. The population is chiefly dispersed in small towns and villages; and it appears that its total cannot be taken at more than 3,000,000 of souls—a miserable amount, indeed, for a great country, possessing a good climate, a fertile soil, navigable rivers, and convenient harbours.

The territory is not occupied by one race or nation, but by many tribes or nations, differing in language, and often in religion, manners, and institutions. The Burmans themselves are said to be divided into seven tribes, but these tribes are in reality nearly distinct nations. One of these tribes, the Shans, or people of Lao, speak nearly the same language as the Siamese, and are spread over the whole of the eastern and north-eastern frontier of Ava. The wilder races, having no affinity either with the Burmese or with the Siamese, are nine in number, and of most of them little is known beyond their names or occasional places of residence.

Some of them live in a savage state in the mountains, while others, like the Karyens, though rude enough, are little less civilised than their Burman conquerors. The Karyens settled in the Peguan provinces raise the greater quantity of the rice which is consumed. None of these tribes have adopted the Buddhist religion, and they all speak dialects distinct from the Burman. But the most remarkable circumstance connected with the existence of these tribes is that, for the most part, they do not occupy particular districts or provinces, but are scattered all over the kingdom, living in the midst of, but not intermixing or associating with, the rest of the people. They have a government by their own chiefs; they preserve their peculiar customs and manners; they accept of no public trust or employment in the state, and they do not serve in the Burman army. They merely pay a tribute to the king.

The strangers sojourning, or naturalised in the kingdom, are natives of Cassay, Siamese, Cochin-Chinese, Chinese, Hindus, Mohammedans, and a few Christians. The natives of Cassay were originally captives taken in war, but are now generally as free as the Burmans: they form a considerable proportion of the population of the capital, and are much employed as weavers, blacksmiths, masons, etc.: moreover, they have commonly formed the cavalry of the Burman armies. The Chinese are not so well treated, and are far from being so prosperous as they are in Siam. They are for the most part from that Chinese province of Yun-nan, which has been so often mentioned in connexion with these Indo-Chinese nations. They are all merchants or traders; no persons of the class of artisans or labourers settling in Ava from that province. At the capital are to be found a few Chinese from the province of Canton; and these exercise mechanical arts, and, on account of their superior skill, receive three times more wages than the Burman workmen.

The zoology of the country does not differ materially from that of Siam. Of useful quadrupeds they have domesticated the ox, the buffalo, the horse, and the elephant. Both oxen and buffaloes are used throughout the country for draught and for agricultural purposes; both are of a very good description, and commonly kept in high and excellent order. The buffalo is said to be even more docile than the ox. It thrives uncommonly among the marshes and coarse pastures of the flat country. The full-sized horse is unknown in Ava, as in every country of tropical Asia south of Bengal. The Burman horses very rarely exceed thirteen hands. There is, however, a supply of good ponies, chiefly furnished by Pegu or brought down from the mountains of Lao. Neither horse nor pony is ever used except for the saddle.

Elephants seem to be kept merely for royal luxury and ostentation. The camel, though well suited as a beast of burden to a considerable portion of the country, is not known. The ass, and the sheep, and the goat are very little known, and are turned to no use. The hog is domesticated, but being used only as a scavenger, its habits are offensive and disgusting. The dog is seen too often, being unowned and uncared for, as in other parts of the East, and helping the hog in the scavenger work. These animals prowl about the villages unmolested, their numbers being kept down only by disease and starvation. Cats are very numerous, and generally of a similar breed with the Malay; that is, having only half a tail. Of domestic poultry the Burmans are exceedingly neglectful, rearing only a few common fowls and ducks, which they sell clandestinely to the Chinese and other strangers.

As so vast a portion of the country, uninhabited and uncultivated, is covered with forests, hills, and wide spaces, wild animals and game are exceedingly numerous. The elephant is found in all the deep forests, from one extremity of the empire to the other, but is peculiarly abundant in those of Pegu. There, too, the one-horned rhinoceros is almost as common as the elephant. Both these large animals are hunted by the Karyens, who not only eat their flesh, but consider it a delicacy. Wild buffaloes, wild oxen and hogs, bears, otters, tigers, leopards, wild cats, and civet cats, with deer of various species, make up the list. The deer are more frequent in the forests of Pegu than in any other part of India. The common mode of hunting them is this:—The natives assemble in a large party in the grassy plains, which are the favourite haunt of the deer, and forming a circle, gradually contract it, until the terrified animals are reduced within a very small compass. A fence of frail materials, but quite sufficient to confine them in their terror, is then constructed; and within these the hunters enter, and cut down the game with their swords.

Some English gentlemen, who went to see a hunt of this kind, were surprised at finding it so effective. About thirty deer were killed, and only very few escaped by breaking the frail fence or leaping over it. The natives have another kind of hunt. The hunter goes into the forest in a dark night, with a torch in one hand and his sword in the other: the deer, attracted by the light, are said to come up to it fearlessly, and to be cut down without difficulty. The fleet and graceful antelope is said to be wholly unknown, although its presence might have been expected in the arid plains of the upper country. The hare, though not found in Pegu, is common in other parts.

The wild cock is very generally spread over the country. On the Irrawaddi, wherever there is a little jungle, his crowing is heard. There are peacocks, pheasants, partridges, and quails. The snipes rise in clouds in the immense marshes near the rivers. Wild geese, and wild ducks swarm.

In the mineral kingdom, the different provinces afford gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, antimony, petroleum, nitre, natron, salt, coal, amber, gems, noble serpentine, limestone, and marble.

The limestone found in Martaban, the most accessible part of the country, affords a lime celebrated for its whiteness and purity. Fine statuary marble is found in immense quantities about forty miles above the city of Ava, the present capital. The late Sir F. Chantrey declared, from specimens shown to him in England, that it was equal to the marble of Carrara. With the exception of a few miles of land carriage, the Irrawaddi would convey this valuable material all the way to the sea. The precious stones consist chiefly of the sapphire family and the spinette ruby. The rubies are most prized by the Burmans. We have seen some of these, remarkable for their size, brilliancy, and beauty. These gems are not obtained by any regular mining, but by digging and washing the gravel in the beds of the smallest streams and brooks. All that are found are considered the property of the king,—at least he lays claim to all that exceed a certain size and value. But this law is often evaded. No stranger is permitted to visit the mines; even the Chinese, who are employed as miners by the governments of Cochin-China and Siam, are rigorously excluded. It is, therefore, believed that the mining operations are carried on in a very unskilful manner, and that the annual produce of most of the mines might be greatly increased by science and skill. The Chinese buy up and export to their own country a considerable quantity of the noble serpentine. Iron appears to be very abundant, particularly in the mountains of Lao; but the people have no machinery and very little skill in smelting and preparing it for the forge. Of cast-iron utensils, they have no knowledge. Gold also is most abundant in Lao; but it appears that it is not brought down to the capital in any very considerable quantity, and that it is chiefly procured by washing. Silver is mined at the very extremity of Lao, on the borders of Yun-nan. There also are mines of lead, tin, and iron. "But," says Mr. Crawfurd, "such is the rude state of Burmese industry, that the metallic worth of the country generally may be described as lying in a great measure useless and neglected." Coal is believed to be abundant, and very extensively diffused. A few coal mines in the lower part of the country would be of incalculable benefit to steam navigation and commerce. The amber is found in mines, is of good quality, and twenty times cheaper than that which is sold in our markets. The petroleum is procured in deep wells, sunk into the soil for the purpose. More than 65,000,000 pounds avoirdupois are produced annually. This oil is burned in lamps, and the Burmans neither use any other oil for light nor make use of candles. Natron is so very abundant and cheap, that it is thought it would afford to pay freight as an article of export to Europe.

In the vegetable kingdom, the first place is claimed by the useful and noble teak-tree. The forests of this invaluable timber are unquestionably the most extensive in India. It was this wood and its inexhaustible abundance which first seriously attracted the eyes of Europeans to the country. For more than three hundred years there has existed among the nations of the West trading in the remote East an eager desire for the right of cutting, or, at least, of fairly purchasing this timber. It appears to exist wherever the inundations do not extend. It abounds in Martaban, and in most of our new acquisitions made in the first Burman war. The most convenient and accessible, if not the finest forest, is said to be that of Sarawaddi, which has furnished the greater part of the timber exported to foreign markets. The wood is said to be matchless for gun-carriages and machinery requiring great strength.

Next to the noble teak, the tree most prized by the Burmans is the shingan, the *Hopæa odorata* of botanists. It is a large forest-tree, very abundant in the lower provinces; its timber is strong and durable, and is used in boat-building, the common canoes of the country being often made of one entire tree of it, hollowed out. Another tree, highly esteemed in our Indian arsenals for the toughness and hardness of its wood, exists in great quantities and of large size on the seacoast, and everywhere within the influence of the tides. This is the soondry of India, and the *Hereticra robusta* of botanists. There are no firs or pines.

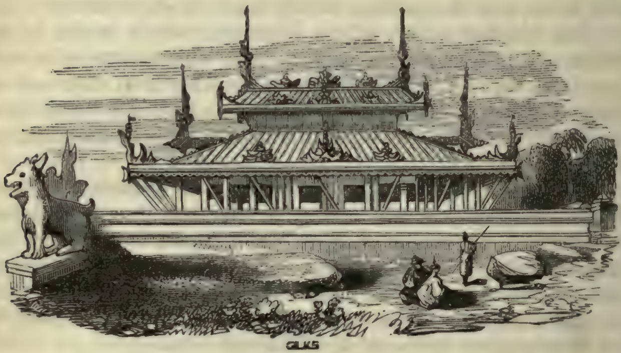
The bamboo, that most useful production in all these Eastern regions, grows to an extraordinary size in the lower parts of the country. Its girth is frequently twenty-four inches, so that joints of it make convenient vessels for drawing water from wells and other domestic uses. The *Mimosa catechu* is here a forest-tree, growing to the height of thirty or forty feet. This affords the catechu, or terra japonica. The drug is obtained by boiling the wood, cut into chips: it is much used in the country, and largely exported, particularly to Bengal. The timber of the tree is strong and durable. Another tree renders the varnish from which the Burmans and Shans fabricate a great quantity of lacquer-ware. The finest kind of this varnish is produced in the country of the Shans. From the forests of the same regions is obtained a large quantity of stick-lac, of excellent quality.

Although their husbandry is not to be praised, the people grow in different parts of the kingdom rice, maize, wheat, millet, various pulses, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and indigo; rice being, as the favourite food, the most cultivated. The wheat grown in the neighbourhood of the capital is described as very good. The sugar-cane seems to have been long known to the Burmese, but it is cultivated only in trifling quantities, to be eaten in its crude state; and a few years ago the art of manufacturing sugar from it was not practised by them. Many and very extensive parts of the country are well suited to the growth of the cane, and, under any fair encouragement, Chinese settlers would soon make sugar an important article of export, as they have done both in Siam and Cochin-China. But the perverse, stupid, native government, is not likely to give or to keep up such encouragement. It is much the same with indigo as with sugar. The indigo plant is an indigenous product; it is grown in every part of the kingdom, and there are immense tracts most admirably suited to its growth: but the culture is rude, the manufacture still ruder, and the produce wholly unfit for exportation.

The kitchen-garden of the Burmans, which might be so productive and so varied, appears to be an absolute void, and they have far less skill and care in growing fruit than any of their neighbours. The sweet potato was first introduced into the country during the stay of the British army at Rangoon, in 1825.

This very brief sketch, in which, of necessity, several objects are omitted, will convey a tolerably clear notion that the Burman empire is rich in productions, even under its present bad government or grasping, grinding tyranny, and that its natural resources, if developed under a better system, would be truly immense, and such as to entitle the country to a foremost place in the rank of Eastern commerce.

The financial system of the country (if system it can be called) is rude, barbarous, and wretchedly inefficient. No regular land revenue is collected on account of the sovereign or state, the greater parts of the land being given away in jagheer to members of the royal family, to public officers, and to favourites, instead of salaries and pensions. As no salaries are paid to any public officers, from the highest to the lowest, those who have no lands live as they can, on fees, perquisites, and extortions; in short, by robbery. The government horde up gold, and silver, and gems in the royal palace, and will not touch that treasure, except on some very extraordinary necessity. If an embassy is to be sent to a foreign country, a contribution is levied on the people for that express purpose; if an army is to be sent on an expedition, if a temple is to be built, or anything else of moment to be done, the people are suddenly called upon to furnish the means. Those who have property are compelled to pay for those who have none. This harrow is constantly passing over the face of the country. Consequently, few or none are rich, or even comfortably at their ease. In respect to fortune, the members of the community are more upon a level with each other than any other people who dwell in cities. On this account, perhaps, this decaying country ought to be visited by such of our European theorists as are enamoured of the principle of equality, and believe that the levelling process would everywhere make people prosperous and happy.



Temple of Pugan.

Burman history is, in its earliest stages, as extravagantly fabulous as Siamese history. It begins with a creation of the world or a kind of Cosmogony, the greater portion of which seems to be borrowed and clumsily adopted from the Hindus. All their early kings are gods or demi-gods, and their several reigns endure for centuries. They make the world a very old one, for one of their dynasties contains more than 82,000 of these long-lived kings; and before the advent of Gautama they had 334,569 sovereigns. After the disappearance of Gautama they had a succession of Saturns to reign over them; for every king, during a long period, murdered his own father. They were, however, kings of great piety, as one of them built 84,000 temples, 84,000 monasteries, and maintained priests without number.

The first seat of Burman government to which any allusion is made, is Pri or Prome, the now well-known place on the Irrawaddi. After a long period, which (no doubt incorrectly) is measured by centuries, the seat of government was transferred to another place. Perhaps no other people have made such frequent changes in this matter. Within the last five centuries and a half the Burmans have shifted their capital nine different times.

About the twelfth century of our era these people appear on the stage of history in something like a substantial, recognisable form. They were then engaged in fierce wars with the Shans; and in these conflicts, and in wars with the Peguans and Siamese, they appear to have continued to be almost constantly engaged for ages. The country, moreover, was invaded at least three several times by the Chinese, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but the difficulties encountered by the Celestials in the rugged, hungry mountains, which separate their empire from the kingdom, seem to have rendered their expeditions very unfortunate and very expensive failures. But, of course, every Chinese retreat was converted into a splendid Burmese victory, and inscribed columns (for which there has been a great predilection in this country) were set up to commemorate these exploits and the glories of the native heroes.

About the year of Christ 1364 the seat of government was removed to Ava, where it continued for 369 years. It was while Ava was the capital that the country was first visited by Europeans. A good many Portuguese had been there before him, engaged in war as well as in trade, but Fernam Mendez Pinto was the first to give any written account of the country and people. After living in China and Japan, visiting many other countries, and undergoing innumerable calamities, Pinto made for the Irrawaddi, intending to trade. It was on the 27th of March, 1547, that he arrived off the coast of Pegu, and entered the mouth of the Martaban river. As it was already night, the captain cast anchor, intending to sail up the river to the great city on the morrow. But during the dark hours they heard a heavy firing of artillery in the direction of Martaban, which gave them much uneasiness. Nevertheless, they continued their voyage at daylight, and in a few hours doubled a point called "Moumayn" (now Moulmein), and got sight of the immense walls and numberless towers of Martaban. But, alas! that city, which was to have been the scene of Pinto's commercial negociations, was girded on the land side by an immense army, and on the river side by an immense fleet. In short, the King of the Burmans was conquering all Pegu, and laying siege to Martaban. As the siege had already lasted six months and thirteen days, it was expected that the place must soon fall. Some Portuguese, who were serving in the besieging army, advised Pinto to join them, as there was a very pretty prospect of prize-money and booty. Pinto forthwith landed, and found in the Burmese camp a great many Portuguese, private men and captains, "and all rich and in good condition." He told their leader that the orders of the Portuguese governor of Malacca were, that they should quit this scene and return to aid him, as he expected some hostile attack. The chief was not so minded, and he said that the best thing Pinto and his people could do was to remain in camp and help to reduce Martaban. The sailor-diplomatist, who had been a "sea-attorney" aforetime, and over and over again, did not need much persuasion: he stayed. As is usual in his book (in which, we believe, those who copied his manuscripts, or who wrote out the original for him, are in good part answerable), there is a very startling exaggeration of numbers. Thus he sets down the besieging army at 700,000 men, and their ships and barks at 1700! But his account of the barbaric siege, the fighting, the negociations, and the wiles and stratagems that were resorted to on either side, is very interesting and truth-like. In more particulars than one it resembles the details given by British officers who served in our Burmese war of 1824–5.

At last, being betrayed by some Portuguese who had remained in his service, and by many of his own chiefs, the King or Prince of Martaban agreed to surrender, upon the solemn promise of his Burmese majesty that his life should be spared, and that he and all his family should be allowed to retire to a talapoin monastery. As the unfortunate prince came out of the city into the camp, and passed near to the Portuguese captains, who, as Pinto confesses, had played a very double and perfidious part in this war, he threw himself on the neck of his elephant, exclaiming, "Let me not see those ungrateful and wicked men! Kill me, or remove them; or I will go no further!" And, hereupon, the captain of the

Burman guard reviled the said Portuguese captains, and bade them all retire and go shave their beards. "Not to tell a lie," adds Pinto, "I was never more hurt in my life than by this public insult offered to the honour of my countrymen."

After defrauding his Portuguese allies of all share of the booty, the Burman conqueror put to death the poor Martaban prince, his wife, and four children, together with an immense number of his prisoners, all persons of the best condition, and many of them ladies or female children. The queen was hanged, with two of her children hanging on either side of her! These native wars were, indeed, wars of extermination. Not one, but all, of these nations, on becoming invaders and conquerors, adopted and steadily acted upon the principle that "it was incompatible with nature to have two kings or two sorts of people in one land."

In the time of Pinto, Martaban was a very populous, wealthy, and magnificent city. Somewhat later accounts represent it in the same light; and the general truth of Pinto's description of its extent is confirmed by the long array of walls, towers, and pagodas, which still exist, or which, at least, existed in 1824, when Colonel (now General) Godwin ascended the river.*

In Pinto's time (the middle of the sixteenth century) the Burmans not only conquered Pegu, but well-nigh effected the subjugation of Siam. Their career greatly resembled that which they pursued two centuries thereafter, and nearly in our own times. Their system of digging holes in the earth for cover, and strongly stockading their posts as they advanced, appears to have been the same then as now. They boasted that no power could resist it, and that by a gradual advance of stockades, to cover all the ground they gained, and to secure them against every assault, they must conquer the world. The Peguans remained in subjection down to the close of the seventeenth century. The Burmans had then some unwarlike sovereigns, and commotions and civil wars within their own boundaries. Before these took place, the country was visited and described by a very intelligent Englishman.

---

* French translation of the voyages and adventures of Fernam Mendez Pinto, in three thick volumes, published at Paris (at the expense of Government) in 1830. "Two Years in Ava, from May 1824 to May 1826. By an Officer on the Staff of the Quartermaster-General's Department." Lond. 1827.

This was Ralph Fitch, a merchant of London, who travelled or resided in India about eight years. Fitch left Bengal in 1586, in a small Portuguese vessel, which carried him to Rangoon, then as now the great trading port of Ava. Afterwards he visited the town of Pegu and various other places, of which he gives descriptions that have every appearance of fidelity. He found that the Peguans had recovered their prosperity, and were carrying on a very active trade with China, Malacca, Bengal, Masulipatam, and other regions. They had among them a good many Portuguese and Arabian traders. Fitch does not mention English merchants, but, not long after his time (in the seventeenth century), the English possessed small factories in various parts of the country, and even as far in the interior as Bhamo, the celebrated mart of the inland trade with China. There were also Dutch factories at the same time, and apparently in the same places; but on some jealousy conceived by the government, or some fear that the foreigners might help the Chinese in their invasions, both English and Dutch were driven out of the country. After a good many years had passed, the English obtained leave to return to the Irrawaddi; but the Dutch were never readmitted.

In 1695, Mr. Higginson, governor of Madras, sent a letter and embassy to the King of Ava, humbly intreating his majesty to permit English factors to buy and sell such commodities, and under such privileges, as his royal bounty might please to grant, and to allow the English such conveniences as were necessary for the repair of ships, whereby he (the Governor of Madras) would be encouraged to send ships every year to his majesty's ports. The governor's envoy on this occasion was a Mr. Edward Fleetwood, who appears to have been imperfectly acquainted with Oriental manners. On his arrival he asked whether it would not be proper and profitable to gain the good graces of the king's favourite mistress! He was told that he had better not try; and that if he did, he would certainly fail in the object of his mission, and, very probably, get a sound drubbing to boot. He was, however, admitted to court, where he crawled in the dust, and knocked his head on the floor, like a native. The king asked him how long he had been on his passage from Madras, and whether the governor was in good health; and then dismissed him. The answer to the governor's letter, written by one of his ministers, was in the following strain:—"In the East, where the sun rises, and in that oriental part of it which is called Chabudu, the Lord of Water and Earth, and Emperor of Emperors, against whose imperial majesty, if any shall be so foolish as to imagine anything, it shall be happy for them to die and be consumed; the lord of great charity and help of all nations, the great lord esteemed for happiness; the lord of all riches, of elephants and horses, and all good blessings; the lord of high-built palaces of gold; the great and most powerful emperor in this life, the soles of whose feet are gilt, and set upon the heads of all people: we, his great governor, in his name, do make known," &c. &c. Mr. Edward Fleetwood must have blessed himself when he got to a distance from all these blessings.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century the court of Ava was still more distracted, and the Peguans, who had been for some time almost in a state of independence, flew to arms. They, in their turn, became invaders and conquerors; and in the year 1733 they carried the Burman king a captive to Pegu, and made themselves masters of nearly the whole of his country. This state of things gave rise to the adventures and achievements of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty, and by far the greatest or best-known character in Burman story. Before he took up arms as a patriot and avenger, he was merely the head-man of a little town or village; but he had great energy, wonderful cunning, and even a good deal of personal bravery. He cleared his country of the Peguans, he invaded and reconquered Pegu, and he poured (as we have seen) the torrent of war into Siam and on to the walls of Bang-kok. In the year 1755 the East India Company deputed Robert Baker, the commander of an East Indiaman, as their ambassador to Alompra, for his exploits were at that time astonishing, and exciting all the Eastern world. The gifts sent by the Honourable Company were unaccountably shabby. According to Baker's own account, he presented to this Emperor of Emperors, this Lord of all Riches, four chests of gunpowder, some shot, two muskets, two brass blunderbusses, a gilt looking-glass, two bags of red earth, and—

six bottles of lavender water! The envoy performed "ko-too," as Mr. Edward Fleetwood had done before him. He was received in great state, the king being on a throne, and his two eldest sons being seated at the foot of the throne. Matters went on pretty smoothly until they came to a passage in the letter of which Baker was bearer, wherein the Honourable East India Company offered his majesty assistance and support against domestic feuds and foreign enemies. Here his majesty burst out into a very hearty laugh, in which all his officers and courtiers joined, as in duty bound. "Have I asked," said Alompra, "or do I want, any assistance to reduce my enemies to subjection? Let none conceive such an idea! Have I not, in three years' time, extended my conquests three months' journey on every side, without the help of your cannon or muskets? With bludgeons alone I have opposed and defeated these Peguans, who destroyed the capital of the kingdom, and took the prince prisoner; and, a month hence, I intend to go with a great force to Rangoon." The Secretary then proceeded with the reading of the Company's letter, until mention was made of the king's signet as a necessary part of the agreement into which the Company wished to enter. Here the proud conqueror exclaimed, "What madman wrote that? Captain, see this sword! It is now three years since it has been constantly exercised in chastising my enemies; it is, indeed, almost blunt with use: but it shall be continued in the same work till my enemies be utterly destroyed! Don't talk to me of assistance; I require none. The Peguans I can wipe away like this (drawing the palm of one hand over the other)!"

"I told him," says the poor captain, "that I was convinced of his potency, but hoped, at the same time, our voluntary offer would not be taken in bad part. He answers, 'See these arms and this thigh' (drawing the sleeves of his vesture over his shoulders, and tucking the lower part up to his crutch); 'amongst a thousand, you won't see my match. I myself can crush a hundred such as the King of Pegu. I protest—and God knows the truth of my assertion—that state is a burthen to me: 'tis a confinement which I endure only on account of the necessity there is for it towards the support of government. I have carried my arms to the confines of China, the king of which country has sent me a rich present of curious things' (several of which he showed me). 'On the other quarter, I have reduced to my subjection the major part of the kingdom of Cassay, whose heir I have taken captive. See, there he sits behind you! I have also some princesses in my court—they sit yonder.' (Then says he to them, 'Come forth!' on which they passed before us.) 'I have upwards of a hundred near relations: amongst the rest, an own brother—there he sits' (pointing to him); 'and nine children, two of whom have behaved well in the late war; the third, a youth—here he is: the rest are but young.'"

At the time of this interview, Alompra was about forty-five years of age; about five feet eleven inches high (an unusual stature for a Burman), of a hale constitution, of a sturdy though active make, and of a complexion full as dark as the generality of the people. His visage was somewhat long; his face was a little pitted with the small-pox; his features were coarse, and his aspect grave. Our envoy thought that, when seated on the throne, to which he had not been born, he supported royalty with a tolerable grace. His temper was very violent, and his disposition cruel. He was greatly inflated by his recent successes in war, and quite ready to believe his courtiers, who told him that he was invincible. He administered justice himself, but with little impartiality.

During the same short reign another Englishman repaired to court. This was Ensign Lester, who was deputed, in 1757, by the chief of a small English factory at Negrais. Our young officer, on being presented, went through the "ko-too," and was much incommoded by being kept so long in a prostrate attitude. A number of trivial questions put by the semi-savage king was followed up by this: "Why don't you black your bodies and thighs, as we do?" And then he rose up and showed his own black tattooed thighs to the ensign. Next he examined our officer's hand and wrist, and said they were like women's, because they were not black. His majesty then inquired whether there was any ice in our country, and whether our small creeks were ever frozen over, as happened sometimes in parts of his dominions. When the ensign told him that he had seen a broad river (meaning the Thames at London) frozen over, and an ox roasted whole upon the ice, the king and all his great men set up a loud incredulous laugh. Afterwards his majesty boasted of his power and warlike capabilities, saying that if all the nations in the world were to come against him, he would drive them out of the country. Mr. Lester had a second audience. This was an audience of leave, and in it Alompra boasted still more extravagantly. He said that if a nine-pound shot was to be fired out of a gun, and come against his body, it could not hurt him. He cut the audience short by getting into his barge. Our envoy followed to know whether he had any commands to the chief of the English at Negrais. His majesty said a letter had been given to the Portuguese interpreter, who would deliver it to the ensign; and he now made that officer a royal present, consisting of eighteen oranges, two dozen heads of Indian corn, and five cucumbers. Moreover, he left for his accommodation a miserably leaky boat; and in this the envoy was compelled to take his passage down the river. It would appear that Alompra was mindful of the very shabby present which the Honourable Company had sent to a legitimate king.

Mr. Lester, however, obtained a grant of the island of Negrais, and of a piece of ground at Bassein for a factory, together with favourable promises as to trade with the country. "This," says Mr. Crawfurd, "was the last concession made to us through mere diplomatic agency by any state to the eastward of the Bay of Bengal;" and the reason is obvious. This was the very moment of the rise of our Indian empire—of the victories of Lawrence and Clive; and the progress of our arms naturally threw the Eastern princes upon their guard. In fact, two years after the mission of Ensign Lester, the island of Negrais, reduced to a miserable garrison of a dozen individuals by the withdrawing of the principal force for the defence of Bengal, was cut off by an act of treachery and assassination on the part of the renowned Alompra; for it appears that the enterprise, through fair means, was above the strength of this mighty conqueror."

About a year after this atrocity at Negrais, the court of Ava was visited by another English envoy, Captain Alves, who was there in the year 1760, but who neither concluded any treaty nor materially added to our knowledge of the people.

Alompra, out of affection to his native place, removed the seat of government to Monchaboo, then a small town or village. He walled it in, and rendered it a place of considerable importance for that country. He did not long survive. Counting from the time when he assumed the name of king, he reigned only eight years. He died, as we have mentioned, on a campaign in Siam, while his troops were besieging Bang-kok. He was the most illustrious ruler the Burmans have ever had, yet was he little better than a braggart and barbarian. His immediate successor, one of his sons, removed the capital to Sagaing, and died after a short reign of three years. He was succeeded by another son of Alompra, whose native name signified "King of the White Elephant." He, again, removed the capital to Ava: he was engaged in that desolating war in Siam which has been briefly described. He was succeeded in 1776 by his son, Sen-Ku-Sa, a prince averse to war, and of a gentle, benevolent disposition. But, from the beginning to the end thereof, his reign was disturbed by the invasions of the Chinese, who broke into the country every year, from 1776 to 1780. The Burmans, who of late had been accustomed to invade the countries of others, were greatly incensed at these attacks upon themselves. The chiefs conspired; the king's uncle put himself at their head, and, after a reign of five years, the pacific king fell a victim to these discontents and intrigues, and his uncle placed another grandson of Alompra on the throne. But this feeble prince was used only as a stepping-stone, and was destroyed in the first year of his reign by the uncle, who then ascended the throne himself.

This new king (father to the king with whom we waged war in 1824), is commonly known by the names of Padun-Mang and Man-ta-ra-kri. He began his reign in 1781, and capriciously removed the seat of government from the more suitable site of Ava to Amarapura. He reached the throne by crime and blood, but he governed rather ably and prudently when once seated upon it, and his reign was unusually long. He received three different English envoys at his court.

For four-and-thirty years our diplomatic intercourse with the Burman empire had been suspended. In that interval, the timber of Pegu became a necessary in our Indian naval and military arsenals; and the conquest of Arracan by the Burmese brought them in immediate contact with our possessions on the frontiers of Bengal. In 1795 the Governor-general of India sent Captain (afterwards Colonel) Symes to negociate on the Irrawaddi. The narrative of this accomplished officer has long been before the world, and is well and generally known. He is taxed with having taken some very incorrect views of the populousness, the strength, and resources of the Burman empire; but those most competent to judge declare that his book, besides being amusing, contains much valuable and thoroughly correct information. The mission of Colonel Symes was followed, in the succeeding year, by that of Captain Hiram Cox, of which the narrative was not published until 1821. In 1802, Colonel Symes went on a second mission to Amarapura, which was attended, like the rest, by no satisfactory result; and in 1809 Major Canning was sent to the same court. All these missions were treated with great haughtiness by the Burmese chiefs, and the court appeared to be much more anxious to receive than to make concessions and favours. Captain Cox, however, discovered and exposed the real weakness of the empire, and the folly of submitting to the caprice and arrogance of such a court.

Man-ta-ra-kri, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was succeeded, in 1819, by his grandson, who soon became our bitter adversary. In 1822, not out of regard to the superiority of that situation, but moved by his own caprice, and confirmed in it by the predictions of his conjurors and star-gazers, the new king removed the capital, which was once more fixed at Ava.

During the six reigns of the princes of the dynasty of the usurper Alompra, the Burmans had extended, and apparently established, their dominion over Pegu, Martaban, Tavoy, Tenasserim, Arracan, Cassay, Cachar, Assam, and Jainteea. These last possessions, being distant and poor countries, became a source of weakness and not of strength; and they brought the Burmans into that collision with a civilised nation which was sure to end in a conflict that would for ever arrest the progress of their barbarous conquests. Their conceit, however, kept pace with, or rather outran their extension of dominion; and when they took the field for the first time against the British, it was with the full confidence of victory and success. Nor did they look to a merely defensive war. On the contrary, they contemplated nothing less than the invasion and conquest of the whole of Bengal, and the capture of the Governor-general of India, who was to be brought to Ava in chains and fetters of gold. The people about the king laughed at those who represented our power and resources, and the hopelessness of an unnecessary struggle with our fleets and highly-disciplined troops. They said that their own system of war was the best that could be devised, that they had conquered all their neighbours by means of their stockades, and that they would, in like manner, conquer the British. Even after they had made inroads across our frontier, and given numerous provocations, they might have been admitted to a treaty of pacification and friendship, had they been so minded. But the mere hint only inflated their vanity, and augmented their insolence. England never goes to war without being accused, by certain home politicians, of entering into hostilities without reason, without right, or any sufficient, justifiable motive. The truth is, that we went to war with the Burmans, in 1824, because they would not let us be at peace, and we are at war with them *now* because they would not give satisfaction for a long series of annoyances and grievous injuries.

The temper of the Burmans, when on the eve of their first war with the English, was best explained by the examination of respectable Englishmen and Americans who were at Ava at the time. These depositions were taken, after the war, before the British Commissioners at Rangoon. On one of the witnesses being asked, what advantages the Burmans expected from a war with the English? he replied, —"They expected to conquer Bengal, to plunder it, and extend their territories to the westward. I always considered that the Burmans had a contempt for the British, whom they considered as mere merchants, who had hired a few mercenary soldiers to fight for them." Another witness,—the Rev. A. Judson,—being asked his opinion as to what led to the war, and what estimate the Burmans had formed of the military character of the British nation previously to the war, said,— "The war arose out of a jealousy of the British power on the part of the Burmans; vast confidence in their own prowess, on account of the recent conquests of Cassay and Assam; and a desire to extend their territory. They thought the British power formidable to the Hindus only; but considered themselves a superior order of men, whom the British could not withstand in battle, both on account of personal courage, skill in stratagem, and the practice of desultory modes of warfare, which would fatigue and destroy a British army." The king, his brother the Prince of Sarawaddi, his eldest sister (a lady who had great influence at court), his ministers, and all his advisers, entertained the same opinions. In fact, the cry for war was unanimous. A European who had access and some favour with the sovereign, and who felt assured that the war must be very fatal to him, would have advised him to remain at peace; but he durst not do it, well knowing that his head would be cut off if he did. When we showed a disposition to renew a friendly intercourse, or when we seemed backward in our hostile preparations, the court of Ava exultingly cried,—"It is clear these English people are afraid of us! They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmans! They will not come to us, but we will go to them!" In all the stages of the actual war, whenever we made any overtures or relaxed in our activity, the same notes were repeated. Another witness examined by our commissioners at Rangoon, deposed that no concessions,—not even a surrender of a large tract of our own Bengal territory,—would have prevented the Burmans from going to war; that they had prepared a great army, which was to advance from Arracan upon Chittagong, under the command of the Maha Bandula, the greatest of all their generals; that Bandula had confidently promised to put the whole of Bengal into the king's hands; that after his arrival in Arracan, which was while the English were still negociating, Bandula had received a royal order, which directed him to take our town of Chittagong immediately, and then proceed to the capture of Calcutta; that every man at Ava who spoke of peace was considered as a traitor; and that none really regretted the war until they had seen all their armies defeated. "Then," said the deponent, "I heard the king say that he was in the predicament of a man who had got hold of a tiger by the tail, which it was neither safe to hold nor let go." Another witness stated, that long before it broke out nothing was talked of in the country but war; that the Burmans thought that all the world ought to be slaves to the King of Ava, and that it was presumption to contend with his armies.

The Burmese governor of Arracan even forwarded a letter to the Governor-general of India, the Marquis of Hastings, in which he asserted his master's right to the whole of Bengal to the eastward of Moorshedabad, and called upon the marquis to deliver up that territory. At the mouth of the Kek-naaf, a small inlet of the sea dividing our Chittagong district from Arracan, is situated a small island, or sand-bank, called Shapuree, on which we had stationed a few Sepoys as an outpost. At the close of 1823, numerous Burmans, landing at Shapuree by night, expelled the Sepoys, and took possession of the island. Nearly at the same time predatory bands issued from the Burman countries, cutting off our elephant-hunters, and plundering our villages. So little had our Indian government any idea of this new war, that our eastern frontier was very scantily provided with troops; the whole force in these parts consisting of a few regiments of Sepoys, who were scattered over the country in small parties of twenty and thirty. Unfortunately, this distribution of force allowed the Burmans to obtain sundry advantages in the field, and tended to deprive the Sepoys of the invigorating principle of self-confidence. No attention was paid to our remonstrances.

Gaining more confidence every day, the Burmans, in the commencement of 1824, pushed several parties into our district of Sylhet, where a number of skirmishes took place. Lieutenant-colonel Bowen collected 1500 Sepoys, with two six-pounders, and rapidly drove in the advanced posts of the enemy. But they soon took up a position at Dood Putlee, on the frontier of Sylhet, where, to the number of 2000 or more men, they awaited, in a strong stockade, the approach of the British. On the 21st of February, Colonel Bowen attempted to carry this strong stockade; but was totally repulsed, with the loss of five officers and 150 men, and obliged to withdraw his troops and take up a defensive position to the rear. This success still farther inflated the conceit of the barbarians, and when a few Sepoy prisoners were delivered in chains at Ava, the king fancied that the great Bandula would very soon be at Calcutta.

Having nothing else that he could do, the Governor-general now sent a squadron of ships, a certain number of gun-boats, and a small mixed army, to the Irrawaddi. They arrived at Rangoon on the 11th of May, 1824. Two broadsides from the frigate "Liffey" dismounted every gun in that place, and sent the Burmans scampering to the neighbouring jungles; and then our troops effected their landing without firing a shot or seeing an enemy. The inhabitants had nearly all fled, or, rather, they had been forcibly driven into the jungle by the officers of government, who knew that, if left in their houses, they would be friendly with the English and render them assistance. On the 15th of May a few of our boats, which had been sent up the river to reconnoitre, were fired at from some breastworks which had been thrown up at Kemendine (a place constantly mentioned in the early part of this war, and situated about six miles above Rangoon). On the morrow, Sir Archibald Campbell, commander in-chief, sent the grenadier company of the 38th Regiment to drive out the enemy. The first breastwork was carried with little loss; but at the second the Burmans stood rather resolutely, and we had two officers and twenty-two men killed or wounded. But the Burmans, whose loss was considerable, were so disheartened that they fled from their third stockade. The works were destroyed without farther opposition. On the same day, General Macbean, with a column of 1000 men, proceeded on a reconnoitring expedition inland, and fell in with the Governor of Rangoon and some troops, who instantly fled, leaving in our hands two gilt umbrellas, the emblems of authority. In the jungle, not far from our Rangoon lines, the soldiers discovered a number of headless and mutilated bodies, some tied to trees, others lying on the ground, the victims of the savage policy of the Burman chiefs, who had suspected them either of favouring our cause or of wishing to return to their homes in Rangoon. During the whole war these horrible scenes were constantly occurring. If ferocity and an utter disregard of human blood and life could have secured victory, the Burmans certainly would have conquered the world.

Our sentries and pickets were nightly harassed by alarms, and being fired at from the jungle, which grew close under our lines; it was impossible for any one to go ten yards into the country, without running the risk of being murdered or made prisoner. Not a single individual could as yet join us from the interior, and whatever information we received was of so suspicious a nature that no reliance could be put upon it. For a long time (until some of the Peguans and other natives could join us) the war was like a fight in the dark. At this juncture the tremendous periodical rains set in, inundating the whole country, and rendering a march by land altogether impracticable. Nor could we proceed by the river, for our supply of proper vessels was altogether inadequate to the service; we had not time to replace the boats, which the enemy had withdrawn, with others of our own construction; nor was the number of our boatmen sufficient to man them, had they been at our disposal. Sir Archibald Campbell was therefore obliged to remain on the defensive at Rangoon, where sickness soon thinned his little army to a frightful extent. This arose, not from the climate, but from other causes (besides cholera), which might, and which ought to have been foreseen and provided for. Our troops now engaged in the war have passed more than one rainy season in the same places, and have found Rangoon quite as healthy as most parts of India; but they have been well hutted and well fed, while the troops of Sir Archibald Campbell were left to lie in hovels level with the wet ground, and fed chiefly upon salted meats, of the very worst quality, brought from Calcutta. With a little dried fish, salt pork, salt beef (often not entitled to its name), mouldy biscuit and bad rice constituted the daily food of men and officers for the space of five months. General Campbell, though a very brave man, and not without military skill, was miserably deficient in that attention to and management of the commissariat, which the Duke of Wellington so often declared to be one of the first qualifications of an officer commanding an army. There was, besides, gross mismanagement at Calcutta, and a more than usual amount of roguery and peculation among our native contractors and agents.

Wherever our columns made a short advance, they found that the peasantry had been driven off with their cattle, poultry, and all that they possessed. It was the plan of the government to leave the country bare, and so starve us out. For some time it was thought that their army would fight no more; but their troops lay concealed in jungles not far off, and, invisible to us, carried on their work of stockading. When the river became swollen, and the current rapid, they constructed, with considerable ingenuity, a very great number of fire-rafts, which they sent down to destroy our anchored shipping and stores. At the end of May their troops began to reappear in small detached parties, on the outskirts of the jungles and near the river-banks, where they invariably stockaded themselves. These were easily driven in with loss, but others appeared in the same way, began stockading, and made it evident that they had strong supports in their rear. On the 28th of May, Sir A. Campbell made a reconnoissance in person, having with him 300 British, a few Sepoys, and a couple of guns. When he reached a small stockade, which had been captured and partially destroyed the day before, he found it occupied by a party of the enemy, who were busily employed in repairing it, and who fled at his approach. Pushing on through the jungle, our small force came to a village, to which the Burmans had set fire. A few shrapnels scattered a considerable body of the enemy that had thought of defending the passage of a wooden bridge. The great difficulty lay in crossing the country, which was almost covered with water; and all the time the rain descended in torrents upon our troops. They, however, succeeded in driving the Burmans from two large stockades, in one of which 300 of them fell. Other affairs of the same sort took place, and in these the confidence with which the natives had commenced the war was very much abated. At first they thought that the English, who fought with all their bodies uncovered, could never prevail against them, as they always fought under good cover; but they now found that the strongest of their stockades could be stormed and taken, and that the difficulty of escaping through one narrow outlet in the rear exposed them to great loss. Still the army hung on the vicinity of Rangoon, as if determined to retake that place. They stockaded and otherwise fortified Kemendine with great care, and when they were driven thence, on the 11th of June, by the heavy fire of our artillery, they rallied behind the broad, impenetrable screen of jungle. On the 30th of June they suddenly reappeared in front of our Rangoon lines, as if they had started out of the earth. Previously, two chiefs had appeared in our camp, under the pretence of entering into negociations, but with the real object of discovering our strength. On their return they stepped into their war-boat with an air of defiance, and the boatmen went off, singing in chorus, "Oh! what a happy king have we!"

On the evening of the 30th, all the woods in our front exhibited bustle and commotion; clouds of rising smoke marked the encampments of the different corps in the forest, and their noisy preparations for attack were distinctly heard. The key of our position was the Shoodagon, or famed Golden

Dagon, which has been so frequently described in books, and represented in drawings and in engravings. On the 1st of July the enemy advanced in dense masses to the right and front of the pagoda; but two field-pieces checked their advance, and then a charge made by a Madras regiment of Sepoys put them all to flight. In a very few minutes not a man could be seen of the Burmese host, except the killed; nor could anything be heard of them, except a wild screaming which proceeded from the depths of the forest. According to Ava fashion the unfortunate general was recalled, disgraced, and replaced by another, who took the field with numerous reinforcements, and was killed shortly afterwards in a stockade, together with 800 of his people, and several umbrella chiefs. The Lord of the White Elephant now sent his two brothers, the Prince of Sarawaddi and the Prince of Tonghoo, with a whole host of astrologers, and a corps of "Invulnerables," to drive the intrusive, troublesome English, back to their ships. The astrologers were to fix the lucky moments for attacking: the Invulnerables had some points of resemblance to the Turkish Delhis; they were the desperadoes or madmen of the army, and their madness was kept up by rice-brandy and enormous doses of opium. On the 30th of August, towards midnight, the Prince of Sarawaddi made an attack on the Dagon pagoda, but our grapeshot and musketry presently drove him back with fearful loss. The Invulnerables, who were found to be just as vulnerable as other men, never again ventured near our posts.

As all kinds of gilt umbrellas had been rolled in the dust—as fire-eating chiefs, ministers of state, and princes royal, had all failed against us—the king called down from Arracan his prime favourite, the Maha Bandula, who had promised to sack Calcutta and to carry off the Governor-general in golden chains. This renowned chief, after a very remarkable march, took post at Donopew on the Irrawaddi.

It would be out of place to describe here these long and tedious campaigns against an enemy who had little skill and not much courage, but a vast deal of obstinacy. Moving down from his post with 60,000 men, whereof more than 30,000 were said to carry fire-arms, the great Bandula, on the 1st of December, made another attempt to drive the English from Rangoon. The fighting continued at intervals during seven days and nights, but it ended in the thorough defeat of the Burmans.

With a force reduced by the casualties of war and by desertion, from 60,000 to 25,000, Bandula returned to Donopew. It was the 11th of February, 1825, before Sir A. Campbell was ready to follow him. Our forces were very unwisely divided into two columns, one marching by land and the other going by water. Other military mistakes were committed, and a great deal of the history of the war may be read as a history of blunders and delays. The water-column, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, made a rash, unskilful attack upon the very strong stockades of Donopew, and sustained an actual defeat. The two columns, which never ought to have been separated, were now reunited. It was the 25th of March before our troops arrived within gun-shot distance of Donopew, and it was the 1st of April before our batteries were opened upon those works. Our fire was kept up all that day and through part of the succeeding night, although after a short time the enemy made no return with their guns, and nothing could be seen of them. This excited surprise, but on the next morning, at day-break, the mystery was explained. The great Bandula had been killed the day before by one of our shells or rockets; after his death was known, no entreaties of the other chiefs could prevail upon the Burmans to remain at their posts, and in the dark hours of the night they had all fled in utter dismay and confusion. Ascending the river, our army reached the very important town and position of Prome, but not before the 25th of April. It had been strongly stockaded, but on our approach the army of the king had set fire to the town, and fled from it with all speed. The people in our rear, believing themselves liberated from their tyrants, now flocked into Prome with cattle and provisions. Many came in from the woods, bringing their families and all the little property they possessed; and others escaped from the military escorts, which had been driving them still higher up the country or into the forests. Food and covering were given to the starving and naked. Our soldiers assisted in rebuilding the houses and bamboo huts; and in a very short time Prome had risen from its ashes—a greater town than it had been before the war. As the people were punctually paid for whatever they brought to market, plentiful bazaars were soon established, and our soldiers lived in comfort and abundance, while the ill-conducted armies of the King of Ava, unpaid, unsupplied, and driven into hungry regions, were left to the alternative of starvation or dispersion. The towns and districts in our rear followed the example of this provincial capital, and the banks of the Irrawaddi, below Prome, were soon enlivened by the presence of a contented people. The only fear was, that the English might be induced to go away and leave them to their old harsh, greedy, and cruel task-masters.

There was the season of rain, and there was on the part of the Burmans a delusive negociation; but our forces were kept at Prome far longer than was necessary, expedient, or prudent. The King of the Golden Foot made use of the interval in getting together another and a numerous army. It was not until the 15th of November that the general sent Colonel Mac Dowall, with two weak brigades of Madras Sepoys, to dislodge a corps of the enemy who were stockading themselves at Wattygoon, in the neighbourhood of Prome. Mac Dowall got killed in front of the stockades, four of his officers were wounded, and the Sepoys commenced a rapid retreat, leaving nearly all their wounded behind them to the merciless fury of the Burman soldiery. Their mode of disposing of prisoners, in the early stages of the war, was to torture and crucify them, and send the bodies, nailed to planks, floating down the river. Emboldened by their rare success, the enemy, on the very next day, began to bring their stockades and make their trenches nearer to our outposts, and to close round our positions. In their left division were 8000 Shans, from the country bordering upon China. It was expected that these Shans would fight with more spirit than the men who had been previously engaged in the war. In addition to their chiefs and petty princes, the Shans were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were believed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy and foreknowledge, and to possess the miraculous power of turning aside the balls and bullets of the English. These Amazons, in strange warlike costume, were seen constantly riding among the Shan troops. For some days the enemy were allowed to gather, stockade, and dig; but on the 1st of December they were attacked, defeated, and most thoroughly routed by our troops, and by a flotilla which had been brought up the river by Commodore Sir James Brisbane. The great officer who commanded their left division was slain, and a great many of the Shans, who did not understand the signs which were made to them by our men and officers, to surrender and take quarter, were killed in a most desperate and useless struggle within the stockades. One of the fair Amazons received a fatal bullet in the breast. The moment her sex was recognised, our soldiers bore her from the scene of carnage to a cottage in the rear, where she soon expired. In the retreat, another of the Shan ladies was seen flying on horseback across a little river with the remnant of her people. One of our shrapnels exploded over her head, and she fell from her horse into the water; whether she was killed or only frightened could not be ascertained, as she was immediately borne off by her attendants.

On the very next day the mass of the retreating army was found, rallied, and stockaded on the heights of Napadee, in front of a thick jungle a few miles higher up the Irrawaddi. They were immediately attacked, their positions were all taken at the point of the bayonet, and the whole of that army was utterly broken up and ruined, with a loss to us which did not exceed 25 killed and 100 wounded.

Sir Archibald Campbell, at a very slow pace, pushed forward for Melloone, about 150 miles above Prome. It was the 19th before our first division reached Meaday, where a scene of misery and death surrounded them. Within and among the abandoned stockades the ground was strewed with dead and dying Burmans, lying mixed together,—the victims of wounds, of disease, or of want. Several large gibbets stood about the stockades, each bearing the remains of three or four crucified Burmans, who had been thus put to death for having wandered from their posts in search of food, or for having followed the example of their chiefs in running away from the field of battle. Beyond Meaday similar horrors presented themselves. On the 27th of December Sir Archibald encamped on the bank of the river, about four miles below Melloone, and again allowed himself to be delayed and duped by Burman negociators, who pretended a great anxiety for peace. It was now the end of the year 1825, and our army had been more than nineteen months in the dominions of the King of Ava.

But, in the meanwhile, extensive annexations (they could scarcely be called conquests, as hardly anybody fought) had been made by our troops left at Rangoon, by reinforcements which had joined them, and by a small separate army from Bengal, which was thrown into Arracan, under the command of General Morrison. The city of Martaban was taken, and the inhabitants, being chiefly Peguans, received the English with every appearance of satisfaction and joy, so soon as the Burman garrison had fled. Bassein, Lamina, Mergui, Tavoy, with every place our troops approached, were subdued; the whole of the lower part of the kingdom was under our subjection, to the contentment of the people, and beyond the screen of mountains which separate Ava from Arracan, General Morrison had fully succeeded in the first object of his mission. If this officer, instead of quartering his troops in a most unhealthy country, where they suffered frightfully, had carried them across the mountains towards the capital of Ava, his majesty of the Golden Foot would have been thrown into consternation, and the war brought to a much earlier close. The distance from Arracan was not above 120 miles, and there was a practicable road which traversed the mountains and ran the whole distance. But although this road must have been known to a good many of our native traders who dwelt in Chittagong, and who, occasionally, travelled with their goods by land to Ava, the capital, the existence of the road seems never to have been thought of by our military, until the war was concluded.

The Burmans who were negociating with Sir A. Campbell went so far as to sign a treaty of peace, after which they begged a further delay of fifteen days, in order to obtain, as they said, the ratification of the Golden Foot. On the 17th of January, 1826, the day preceding that upon which the ratified treaty was to be presented, three officers of state came into our camp to ask for more time. This was refused; and on the 18th the Burmans were attacked and bombarded out of Melloone. As the time allowed them had been actively employed in collecting forces, and as a prince of the royal blood had taken the command, great things had been expected from this army, whose position was stronger than any that we had previously attacked. Five days after the battle our columns again were put in motion, and after a slow march by bare roads they reached the neighbourhood of Pagahm-mew,—a very old town, about

100 miles above Melloone. Here Sir Archibald received positive information that the king had ordered another levy of 40,000 men, and had appointed an entirely new set of commanding officers, who bore, or who now assumed, names quite terrific, as "Prince of the Setting Sun," etc., "King of Hell." On the 9th of February the British column, reduced by the absence of two brigades to less than 2000 fighting men, found this new army, or about 20,000 men of it, drawn up in front of Pagahm-mew. The combat was very short; the Burmans broke and fled; many were drowned in attempting to cross the broad river; many more deserted on the spot; and only from 2000 to 3000 kept together as a retreating army. The "King of Hell" fled to Ava; but as soon as he reached the court he was put to a cruel death by order of the king. By this time the "Golden Face" was clouded with despair. By making a smart march, a battalion of Sepoys with two or three companies of English, and a few light guns, might have entered the capital triumphantly, and with hardly any resistance, in a very few days. But Sir Archibald called a halt at Melloone, and did not move quickly when he resumed the march; so that it was the 21st of February ere he reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital; and at Yandaboo he halted again, to negociate. Had it been only for the sake of a lasting, moral impression, he ought to have gone on to the capital, and have signed the treaty there. This appears to have been the all but unanimous opinion of the army.

This time, however, the Burman negociators were quite in earnest. Their conceit had been thoroughly beaten out of them; they had no more subterfuges, and they knew that, even if they could gain more time, they could not collect another army. On the 24th of February peace was finally arranged. By the treaty, the King of Ava agreed to renounce all claim and abstain from all future interference with Assam, Cachar, Jynteea, and Munnipoor, to yield to the Company in perpetuity all the conquered provinces of Arracan; to consider the Arracan mountains as his frontier; to cede the conquered provinces, Yeh, Tavoy, and Mergui, and the whole of Tenasserim, with the islands, &c., taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier. It was further stipulated that his majesty should allow more liberty to British subjects within his dominions, abolish all exactions upon British ships entering the port of Rangoon, &c., and pay for the expenses of the war a crore of rupees, or about 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

The war had cost us from 7,000,000*l.* to 8,000,000*l.*

The treaty might have been better; the commodious port of Rangoon ought to have been retained; and so many of the poor Peguans who had been so friendly to us during the war, and who were so happy under our rule, ought not to have been given up at the peace to their old and now vindictive oppressors. With a court so faithless and cruel as that of Ava, it was no use to insert clauses in a treaty in favour of these restored subjects; the court would be sure to take vengeance on them, and so it did, as soon as our army was withdrawn. In other respects the treaty met with general approbation. The cession of Arracan, besides much fertile territory, gave us an admirable mountain frontier, and amply provided for the freedom from Burmese interference with our Indian territories on that side: the possession of the Tenasserim provinces, and of the islands which lie off that coast, and off the coast of Arracan, afforded increased security to our commercial navigation, opened the road to an inland commerce with the Siamese and other distant people, and placed at our disposal teak forests of enormous extent. The provinces of Cachar and Assam, though holding out less promising prospects to commerce, helped to form a well-defined and strong frontier, and in the approximation they afforded to Thibet and China it was thought that our trade, in process of time, might possibly be extended in those directions. But the greatest immediate gainers by the transfer to us of the dominion of these extensive regions were the people of the country themselves, who, under the rule of Ava, had never known peace or rest.

Still, those who had lived longest in the Burman dominions, and who were best acquainted with the court and great men, remained strong in the conviction that the Burman pride had not been sufficiently humbled, and that, before many years passed, there would be a renewal of war. The proud or absurdly vain court instantly took great pains to conceal or deny the humiliation to which it had been subjected. No man, under penalty of death, was to say that the king's invincible armies had been defeated. The stockades were still to be considered as impregnable, and as having never been taken. If the English had gone through and through them, it was only because the Lord of the Golden Foot, in the mercifulness of his nature, had been pleased to allow them so to do. The king kept an historian of his own. Immediately after its conclusion, this court historiographer thus recorded the war with the English:—"In the years 1186 and '87 (A.D. 1824–25), the Kula-pyu (white strangers of the West) fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandaboo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise, and by the time they reached Yandaboo their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

As yet it does not appear that we are conducting the present war with more decision, and speed, than the preceding one. We will not, however, enter upon the details of this incomplete story. Mismanage the contest as we will, it must terminate in our keeping Pegu, and the greater part of the lower regions of the Burman empire, with Rangoon and the other sea-ports. We cannot again hand over the friendly Peguans to the tender mercies of their oppressors, nor place any faith in a compact and treaty with the court of Ava. At the termination of the war we may expect, from the pens of our officers, ample additions to our knowledge of all these regions, and the different races that rather hold than inhabit them.

In letters recently received from an intelligent young officer serving in the country, we are warned that the accounts of the war which find their way into our newspapers are not characterised by correctness, impartiality, or strict adherence to truth, and we are advised to suspend our judgment for the present. The writer of these letters dwells upon the well-established reputation of the Marquis of Dalhousie for ability, political wisdom, sagacity, and earnestness of purpose; and maintains that the plan of the war, which was framed by his lordship, will be found eventually to be the wisest and best that could have been adopted. Of course the conduct of the war may, in some particulars, remain open to criticism. But for this unlooked-for struggle, the Marquis of Dalhousie would have had to congratulate himself on an administration eminently wise and prosperous, and, after the first year, wholly peaceful. We have already insisted that, on our part, this war was one of necessity. But as a contrary opinion continues to be affirmed, and even in parliament, and by personages who ought to be better informed, or less influenced by personal pique or party spirit, we will here present a few facts; using for the purpose an able retrospect of the events of the past year (1852) published at the commencement of the present year (1853) in the "Bombay Times," the writer of which uses and quotes the "Calcutta Review," the "Friend of India," and other Indian publications.

"When in 1826 the Burmese found at length, by the advance of Sir Archibald Campbell with 3000 British troops to within a few miles of the capital, that further resistance was in vain, and continued evasion was no longer to be allowed them, they at length condescended to negociate. By the treaty, commonly known as that of Yandaboo, ratified on the 24th February, 1826, it was stipulated that the four provinces of Arracan, Ramri, Chedoba, and Sandoway, separated from Ava by the Arracan mountains, should be ceded to us, with the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, with an indemnity of 1,000,000*l.* sterling to meet the charges of the war; and this was followed by the treaty of Ratanapara, concluded on the 26th November, 1826, and ratified by the Governor-general in February, 1827.

"By the sixth article of the first of these, it was agreed that an accredited minister should reside at the court of either power, with an escort of fifty men, and the privilege of securing ground and providing residences for themselves; and on the 31st of December, 1828, Major Burney was appointed resident at the court of Ava. There he remained in the midst of slights and insults, not unfrequently in danger of his life, till 1837, when a revolution arose, and the ruler with whom our arrangements had been made was deposed by his brother, Tharrawadie,* who took possession of the throne. The new sovereign maintained that the treaty of Yandaboo was personal on the part of the late king, and not binding on his successor;

---

* Commonly called by Europeans the Prince of Sarawaddi.

but he made no attempt to regain the territories ceded under it. The validity of the commercial treaty was never disputed, but the position of our resident was rendered so uncomfortable and unsafe, that, with the approval of the Supreme Government, and in the view of averting collision, Colonel Burney quitted Ava, and took up his residence at Rangoon; from whence, on considerations similar to those that had induced his relinquishment of the capital, he was withdrawn in January, 1840; and we from thenceforth remained without a representative in the Burmese dominions. The enormous charges of the war of 1825–26, amounting in all to close on 10,000,000*l.* sterling, and the loss of life incurred by it, had induced us to bring it to a premature conclusion, before the last of humiliations was inflicted on the enemy required to make them aware of our power and afraid of our wrath. The Burmese, like most other barbarians, always confound weakness with pusillanimity, and suppose it a sign of impotence on the part of their enemies when they do less than their worst. Accordingly from this time forth the treaty of Yandaboo was, in a great measure, repudiated; and the retirement of Colonel Burney from Rangoon was followed by an increase in the amount of indignities and extortions heaped upon our merchants. Constant complaints on this subject were being made; and by 1851 things seemed to have reached a height when we must either abandon all the treaties of 1826, as no longer of any effect whatever, and warn our subjects that they remained within the Burmese dominions at their own peril, we being unable to afford them any assistance or redress, or we must take some steps to convince them that we were not any longer to be insulted with impunity, and that we should no longer suffer solemn engagements to be violated and contemned. Never was so much forbearance exercised towards any power as that manifested for twenty-five years by Britain towards Burmah; and never was India ruled over by a governor-general more anxious to avoid hostilities, especially with our neighbours on the East, than when our troubles, which terminated in the second Burmese war, broke out.

"In June, 1851, the British ship 'Monarch' was chartered by a native merchant, Moola Hassan, residing at Maulmain, to proceed from Madras to Rangoon, and when making her way up the river she was run aground by a Burmese pilot, and nearly lost in a squall on the bank. The pilot, when the vessel was in peril, threw a spar into the river to hold on by, and then jumped overboard, with the view of swimming ashore; and the attempt made to recover him by lowering a boat proved unsuccessful, by reason of the strength of the current. The captain on arriving at Rangoon was charged with the murder of the pilot, and on this and other similarly absurd pretences was thrown in prison, while his ship was detained, and above 100*l.* were extorted from him. A full statement of the case was drawn up, in the form of a protest, on the spot; a copy of this was placed in the hands of the commissioner for the Tenasserim provinces, and by him forwarded to the government of India. In September a complaint of a like nature was prepared and lodged by Captain Lewis, of the ship 'Champion,' who had been accused by the Rangoon authorities of having murdered one of his crew at sea, the extortion of money for the benefit of the governor or his satellites being in all these cases the object; and in the same month a memorial was forwarded from the whole of the European residents at Rangoon, complaining of the threats, extortions, and oppressions to which they had been subjected, and craving such relief as might be deemed expedient. These various complaints having been laid before the Council of Calcutta were transmitted to the Governor-general, then on the Himalayas beyond Simla; and a long and elaborate despatch, dated Camp Pinjore, 31st October, returned, recommending that H.M. ships 'Fox' and 'Serpent,' then in the Hoogly, with the 'Proserpine,' 'Enterprise,' and 'Tenasserim' steamers, under Commodore Lambert, should be despatched to Rangoon with a letter to the King of Ava, requesting reparation for past and immunity from future injuries, in terms of the treaties of 1826. The want of an accredited agent increased the difficulties of making arrangements, and, considering the treatment received by former residents at Ava, the Governor-general felt convinced that recourse to a mission would in all likelihood tend to bring on the crisis he was so anxious to avert; and it seemed probable that the presence of a powerful marine force on the river might, by showing them how fully we were prepared for any emergency, secure for us without trouble all that was desired. Only in the event of edress being refused on the spot was the letter to be forwarded to Ava; and the commodore was directed to avoid any threat or hostile measure until the sovereign had been made duly aware of what had occurred, and been afforded the means of righting himself by the removal of the delinquent officer.

"There seemed no reason to imagine that the King of Ava would willingly interest himself in behalf of, or be desirous to screen, the Rangoon governor from the consequences of acts so contemptibly mean and so utterly unjustifiable, and the course adopted seemed, under the circumstances, the most moderate and wise that well could be pursued.

"On the 27th of November the squadron ascended the river, when a message was received from the government of Rangoon requesting an explanation of the causes of the appearance of such a force in the neighbourhood. It was replied that they came to demand reparation for insults and injuries offered to the British subjects, and in charge of a letter from the Governor-general of India to the King of Ava. The following day the squadron reached Rangoon. The 30th of November was appointed for an interview with the governor, and during the two intervening days all intercourse betwixt the ships and shore was forbidden. Intimation was said to have been given to British subjects, that any one of them who approached the wharf would have his head cut off or his legs broken. On the 29th, information was brought to the commodore that a native ship-captain, from Madras, had been fined 150 rupees for having lowered his flag as the man-of-war passed; and some British residents who had made their way on board, intimated that they had been informed by a member of the local administration that the governor had proposed to murder every one who landed from the frigate, the residents being warned against all intercourse with their countrymen. The truth of the rumour seemed borne out by the fact that the proposed place of interview was, without any previous intimation, changed from the Custom House, fixed on at first from its immediate vicinity to the frigate, to the governor's house, two and a half miles off; the distance of which from the landing-place had been assigned as the reason why the Custom House was preferred. After the arrival of the squadron, complaints of further injuries, similar to those for which redress was sought, became so frequent, and the British flag was treated with such studious disrespect, that the commodore determined to alter the course originally intended to have been pursued, to forward the Governor-general's letter to the King of Ava at once, and to demand redress from the governor of Rangoon for the injuries more recently inflicted, a separate note being forwarded, making the sovereign aware of the treatment experienced by the squadron since its arrival.

"As the statement regarding the intended seizure of parties landing from the frigate was too vague to be depended on, it was passed over unnoticed; and on the day, and at the hour appointed, the deputation, consisting of Captain Tarleton of the 'Fox,' with a party of his officers, proceeded to the residence of the governor. This distinguished functionary was in plain clothes and smoking when he received the British officers, and treated them with marked disrespect; the other governors present wore their state dresses. The letter was then read and placed in the hands of the governor, when the deputation retired; the utmost care having been taken by them to observe throughout the punctilios of Burmese etiquette. A deputation from the Burmese authorities was sent on board the frigate to receive the letter for the King of Ava, and it was placed in the hands of a party stated to be the official representative of the governor; thirty-five days were allowed for a reply, and during this time the squadron was to remain at anchor in the river. A letter was sent by the governor in reply to that by the commodore, delivered by Captain Tarleton, containing a simple denial of the charges made against him of having injured British subjects; nothing whatever besides this was alluded to.

"These things having been reported to the Supreme Council, and submitted for consideration to the Governor-general, instructions were despatched for the guidance of the commodore, under date 27th December; they reached him on the 2d of January, stating to him the course it would now be requisite to pursue. In the event of the royal ear being favourably inclined to us, all that was required was the removal of the governor of Rangoon, with an apology for his misconduct, compensation for the injuries already sustained by British subjects, and permission for a resident at Rangoon, in terms of the treaty of Yandaboo, to prevent future misunderstandings; a war-steamer to remain for a time in the river to protect our interests. Should the king give no answer, or should he refuse to attend to our wishes, our ships were to receive on board all the British subjects in Rangoon who desired to resort to them, the three principal rivers through which the Burmese trade passed were to be placed under blockade; and by this means it was hoped the Burmese would be brought to their senses. This was deemed the only course we could pursue, which would not on the one hand involve a dangerous submission to injury, or on the other precipitate us prematurely into a war, which moderate councils might still enable us with honour to avert. 'To bombard Rangoon,' continues the Governor-general, whose words we quote, 'would be easy; but it would be unjustifiable and cruel in the extreme, since the punishment would fall chiefly on the harmless population, who already suffer from the oppression of their own rulers even more than our own subjects. To occupy Rangoon or Martaban with an armed force would be easy also, but it would, probably, render inevitable the war, which it was desired by less stringent measures, in the first instance, to avert.'

"On the 1st of January, 1852, an officer from the court of Ava arrived with an answer to the letter despatched on the 28th November, just within the time prescribed. It intimated that the governor of Rangoon had been dismissed; inquiries were to be made into the losses of the British residents, and the case decided according to the usages of the realm. The court expressed itself hurt at the phrase, 'the British government would enforce the rights they possessed;' but stated that, in consequence of the great friendship existing betwixt the countries, that this would be overlooked: hereafter the strictest attention was to be paid to the usual etiquette, should future correspondence arise. Commodore Lambert was requested to name the date of his proposed departure from Rangoon with despatches for government. The Governor-general's instructions above recited reached Commodore Lambert on the 2d of January, the day after the arrival of the embassy from Ava, and a reply to this was despatched the following day to Calcutta, along with a Burmese missive. The commodore at first felt satisfied that the court of Ava was sincere, and that amicable arrangements would immediately be resumed. A royal commissioner, the Governor of Prome, was despatched to Rangoon, as it was given out, to compose all differences, and strengthen the bonds of amity. On the 3d January the governor arrived in regal pomp, with an immense armament of barges and war-boats, 'decorated with elaborate carving and gilding.' He was accompanied by a retinue of more than 3000 men. He had levied the severest exactions on all the towns as he passed, and had in his train ten boats laden with powder. These warlike preparations were little in keeping with the pacific professions which had preceded him. The ex-governor of Rangoon, who had for some days been occupying a small dwelling near Government House, paid his respects to the viceroy on his arrival, and was repeatedly closeted with him. It was at first supposed that he would be subjected to a trial, at least an investigation, in the presence of the viceroy, and a great number of the foreigners had drawn up statements of their grievances. But on the 5th it was ascertained that he was in high favour with his excellency, and on the 6th of January he departed in triumph to Ava, with all his family and a large retinue, and all the plunder he had accumulated, in fifty boats. As all intercourse had been forbidden betwixt the British residents of Rangoon and the frigate, a messenger was sent across to Dalla, on the further side of the river, to ascertain of the governor, a good and worthy man, whether the new official had arrived or not: it was found that he had.

"The viceroy had now been forty-eight hours in Rangoon without taking the slightest notice of the commodore, and without so much as announcing his arrival. His acts, however, manifested from the very first a strong feeling of hostility. Mr. Birrell, a merchant, had erected a flag-staff on his own premises, near the river side, which he was instantly ordered to dismantle. Commodore Lambert, unwilling to give the Burmese any cause of offence, directed it to be removed. An order was at the same time issued by the viceroy, prohibiting all intercourse with any of the ships, in consequence of which all the coolies, carpenters, and workmen of every description, fled. The commodore now sent Mr. Edwards, of the subordinate staff, to inquire the cause of the viceroy's silence, and to ascertain when it would suit his convenience to receive a public communication. The viceroy's bearing was friendly, but in allusion to the receipt of the letter he said he should be ready to receive the commodore at any time when he wished to come; but the answer was delivered in a tone of derision, which created no small merriment among the officers around him. The following morning, 6th January, Mr. Edwards was again sent to announce that a deputation would wait on him at noon with the letter. The viceroy distinctly informed Mr. Edwards that he would receive no deputation at all. No one supposed he would be true to his word, as the commodore had received every Burmese deputation with great courtesy. At noon, Captain Fishbourne, of H. M. steamer 'Hermes,' and some other officers, with Captain Latter, proceeded to Government House. At some little distance from the gate which opens into the large compound, no small effort was made by the Burmese officers to induce them to remain in the streets; they pushed, however, into the compound, where they dismounted, but were prevented from going upstairs till the viceroy's permission had been obtained. After waiting four or five minutes, Captain Latter was informed that his excellency was asleep, and that no one could venture to speak to him. Captain Latter urged the necessity of their being permitted to go into the public hall, to wait the viceroy's leisure; but this was refused, and every remonstrance on his part, with the most distinguished of the officers present, proved unavailing. All this time, however, the viceroy was wide awake, and a telegraphic communication was carried on between the stairs and the chamber he occupied. Finding it impossible to obtain an interview with the viceroy, the members of the deputation mounted their ponies and returned to the vessel. From the time the squadron had entered the river, the Burmese had systematically endeavoured to treat us with all the indignity in their power, dealing with our ships as merchantmen, and conducting their intercourse by means of the lowest subordinates.

"It now appeared to the commodore that, considering what had occurred, the only course for him to pursue was to place the river Selween, leading to Pegu, the Irrawaddi, and the Bassein, under blockade, as it was perfectly apparent that the insults heaped upon us were so by the authority of the King of Ava, and he proceeded to give intimation to this effect accordingly. Between three and four in the afternoon of the

6th, a message was sent from the flag-ship, requesting all British merchants, and all those who claimed British protection, to proceed on board the vessels without delay, to receive a communication. There the commodore stated to them what he had done to maintain pacific relations, and how signally he had failed. He informed them that the British government and flag had been grossly insulted by the Burmese authorities, and that the insult was manifestly intentional, and not accidental. He therefore gave them two hours to leave the town, and promised them all the protection and assistance in his power. Mr. Edwards had also been sent into the town, from door to door, to warn all foreigners to quit it. There were more than twenty-five vessels in the river, and a boat was sent to each one to direct that all refugees should be received on board, and that the vessels should then weigh anchor and drop down below the town. The 'Proserpine' steamer ran close into the main wharf, and eight or ten of the boats from the frigate and steamers came to the shore to protect and receive the fugitives. There was a large vessel, of about 1000 tons, belonging to the king, built for mercantile purposes, and known, from her colour, as the yellow ship, at anchor a little up the river from the frigate. Of this it was determined to seize hold, in resentment for the insults sustained by our flag, and in compensation for the indemnity demanded by us. At sunset she was taken from her moorings by the steamer 'Enterprise,' and towed a short way down the river. Meanwhile the streets were filled with armed Burmese, and Burmese officers were moving to and fro on horseback, threatening all who gave assistance to the foreigners, in consequence of which not a coolie could be procured. All classes of foreigners—Moguls, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English, were seen crowding down to the river with boxes and bundles, and whatever they could carry; but they were obliged, generally, to abandon all the property they possessed. Mr. Kincaid, the American missionary, left his library, consisting of more than a thousand volumes, the collection of twenty years, behind him to be destroyed, too happy to find his wife and children safe under the British flag. Many, however, ventured on shore again before night, to procure a few articles, but not a few of them were detained. From some who escaped it was ascertained that all the foreigners who could be found were sent to prison, and it is feared that more than sixty unfortunate individuals are thus in the hands of a merciless foe. On Thursday, the 8th, all the vessels were safely anchored on the Pegu side, and the steamers towed many out to sea. The 'Proserpine' conveyed more than 200 refugees to Moulmein. During Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Burmese officers came repeatedly to the flag-ship, to offer excuses for the rudeness of the viceroy, but none of them were accredited. The commodore insisted that the viceroy should himself apologise for the insult offered to the British flag, and engaged, in that case, to return and forget the past. On Friday, the old governor of Dalla came on board, and entreated the commodore to give him time to see the viceroy, and persuade him to apologise. Out of regard to the venerable age and the uniform courtesy of the governor, the commodore gave him till the evening to try his good efforts. At eight in the evening, however, two messengers arrived with a written document from the viceroy, stating that if the commodore attempted to pass the two stockades which had been erected down the river, he would be fired upon: they were informed, that in this case the fire would be returned. It was now apparent that the plan of sending unauthorised officers in succession to propitiate the commodore, was merely a *ruse* to gain time. During the night of Wednesday and the following day, numerous war-boats, with from fifty to eighty armed men in each, were sent down to be ready to attack the ships, as well as some twenty-five guns. On Friday, about noon, five large war-boats, crowded with men, came down the Pegu river, and others proceeded from Rangoon to rendezvous at the stockades, at which 3000 troops were said to be congregated. On Saturday morning, the 'Hermes' steamer towed down, and she anchored about 400 yards from the stockade. All the merchantmen also passed down, the frigate keeping betwixt them and the stockade, to save them from the shot of the enemy. About nine in the morning the steamer was seen rounding the point, with the Burmese prize-vessel in tow. As she passed the 'Fox,' first a single gun, and then another, and then others in rapid succession, were fired upon the two vessels of war, and volleys of musketry were opened on them. Instantly the frigate opened a terrific fire on the stockade, and the war-boats which had ventured out into the river. The

'Hermes' then came up, and poured in her shot along the whole line of the defence. After a few minutes of perfect silence, the stockade again fired on the vessels, to which the 'Fox' and the 'Phlegethon' replied with such vigour as to create wide gaps in the works. The 'Hermes' then passed down, and a masked battery was opened on her, but a few rounds soon silenced it. The battery on the opposite bank of the river now opened its fire, but the 'Hermes' came up, and with her shot and shell spread ruin and dismay everywhere throughout the whole line. It was more than two hours before the firing ceased. When the vessels left the spot, not a living Burmese was to be seen. The number of killed on the part of the enemy was reported at 300, and possibly double that number wounded."*

"The squadron now (10th January) dropped down the river and anchored at its mouth, at a position convenient for maintaining the blockade. Commodore Lambert proceeded to Calcutta, to be able to communicate directly with the Government in person, and receive such further instructions as the case demanded.

"The Governor-general was still most anxious to use every means within his power to avert, if possible, the calamity of war. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast between the earnest and dignified pleadings of Lord Dalhousie for peace, and the disingenuous and insulting menaces with which we had treated Dost Mahomed in 1839, or the still more irritating and menacing style of communication with which we drove the Ameers of Scinde to desperation in 1843. On the 31st January, Commodore Lambert, who had, since his fleet anchored at the mouth of the river on the 10th, been absent to Calcutta, returned with a communication from the Governor-general, under date 26th January, in reply to his letter of the 7th. It was stated in this, that if the Governor of Rangoon would yet apologise in writing to the Government of India for the indignities he had heaped upon us, pay the indemnity of rupees, 9,948, claimed by Captains Shepherd and Lewis, and receive a resident in terms of the treaty, the king's ship would be restored, and amicable relations be resumed. He was at the same time informed, that we were well aware of the falsehoods with which his letter abounded, and grieved that he should listen to the misrepresentations of those around him. The Marquis of Dalhousie had, meanwhile, returned to Calcutta on the 29th, to be enabled to conduct, in person, the arrangements connected with the important events now impending.

---

* "Friend of India," slightly altered.

"The commodore, the moment he returned, proceeded, on the 31st, on board of H. M. steamer 'Fox,' in tow of the 'Fire Queen,' to the anchorage of the Hastings' Shoal, with a view of despatching a boat with the Governor-general's letter to Rangoon. To his surprise, on passing the lower stockade a cannonade was opened on the frigate; it was instantly replied to, and the Burmese battery silenced in three minutes. The proposition was treated with insolence, replied to through the hands of a common labourer, and it became quite clear that all that was desired was to gain time—the Burmese sovereign had no intention to comply in any way with our behests. No course now remained for us but to prepare for immediate war. Our frontiers nearest to Burmah were ordered to be watched, and arrangements were accordingly made to meet any sudden aggression that might arise. H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish were despatched by the 'Precursor' steamer from Calcutta to Maulmain, where they arrived in seventy-three hours — H. M.'s 80th, from Dinapore, taking their place in Fort William: two native corps and three companies of artillery were to follow. A like force of artillery and native infantry as that ordered from Calcutta were to be provided from Madras,—being, in all, two European (18th and 51st) and four native (38th and 67th Bengal and 9th and 35th Madras) corps, with four companies of artillery, mostly European, in addition to those on board the Bombay steamers. The 49th and 26th M. N. I. were betwixt Maulmain and Mergui — they numbered about 1200 men; in all about 10,000 fighting men, independent of the ships' crews. The entire force was to be commanded by Major-general Godwin, C.B., of H. M.'s army, who was present throughout the last Burmese war, from 1825 to '27; with Brigadiers Warren and Eliot, to command the Bengal and Madras brigades respectively. Colonel Foord, of the Madras army, was placed in charge of the artillery, and Major Fraser, of the Bengal army, of the engineers. On the 19th February orders were received at Bombay from the Governor-general, for despatch to the Bay of Bengal, as speedily as possible, of all the steamers which could be spared; and such was now the high condition of the Indian navy, that on the 24th a squadron, under the command of Captain Lynch, consisting of the 'Feroze,' transformed from a packet to a frigate, and the 'Moozuffer,' both 1500 tons and 500 horse-power, and the 'Sesostris' frigate, with the troop-steamer 'Berenice,' of about 800 tons each, sailed from our harbour within five days' time of their being aware that there was any chance of being required. The steamers, as during the China war, were manned with European artillerymen to work their guns.

"The Bombay squadron reached Madras on the 7th March, and to their great disappointment found that no orders had been received for the troops to embark. The 'Zenobia' and 'Medusa,' not at the presidency at the time of their despatch, meanwhile joined them, and on the 24th the embarkation commenced. The promptness and vigour of the councils of the Governor-general are said to have been chilled and damped by the executive: it had been resolved—why, it is not stated—to place General Godwin in charge of the expedition: he was the oldest Queen's officer available, and had shared in the Burmese war in 1824—reasons sufficient, one would have supposed, why some other should have been appointed. He is said to have debated and hesitated—been averse to the sudden blow originally desired to be struck—in favour of a delay till October, and a war by land and water, commenced in due form. Some of the Bengal Sepoys, besides, manifested the disposition to dictate to their officers, which has so often been their reproach: part of the regiments are enlisted for general service, part of them for service in India only; and the high-caste Hindoos have a particular aversion to sea-transport:—the natives of all descriptions too often make caste prejudices, or religious scruples, an apology for avoiding trouble or risk, or increasing their demands on government. The 38th N. I. is amongst the privileged corps not liable to be compelled to serve beyond seas: they were asked to volunteer, but determinedly declined—they were said to profess their readiness to proceed to Burmah by land, but not by water; and after repeated entreaties were marched off by Chittagong accordingly. On the 14th March, the left wing of

H. M. 18th Royal Irish embarked from Calcutta in the 'Futtel Rozack' and 'Futtey Allum' transports, to join the head-quarters at Maulmain. A wing of H. M.'s 80th left for the same quarter on the 20th, in the P. and O. Company's steamer 'Erin.' The 40th N. I., with General Godwin and staff, the ordnance and engineer parks, left on the 25th, on board the transports 'Tubal Cain,' 'Lahore,' and 'Monarch,' the former towed by H. M. steamer 'Hermes.' The steam force from Calcutta consisted of the 'Enterprise,' the 'Phlegethon' (iron), the 'Tenasserim,' the 'Fire Queen,' and the 'Nemesis' (iron),—besides H. M. steamer 'Hermes,' and the P. and O. Company's steamer 'Erin:' the steamers were employed both as tugs and transports. The Madras embarkation appears to have been a matter of unusual interest—it was the largest force that had ever left the presidency at one time. . . . . . The squadron had scarcely quitted when a furious thunderstorm overtook them; but beyond the discomfort it occasioned, it caused no particular harm. The first of them arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river, on board the P. and O. Company's steamer 'Lady Mary Wood,' on the 30th, and found everything prepared for their reception. They were for the time put on board the Burmese capture, a vessel of 1000 tons, lying dismasted. The refractory 38th N. I. had been marched by land to guard the frontier. The 3d Seikh irregulars, on hearing of the misconduct of the Sepoys, came forward, and volunteered to a man to go wherever and on whatever service Government desired.

"The Bengal squadron and troops had all reached the rendezvous on the 2d April, and General Godwin, finding that no tidings of the squadron from Madras were to be obtained, decided, in communication with Admiral Austin, who had reached the day previous in H. M.'s ship 'Rattler,' to proceed at once to capture Martaban, a weak place on the Burman bank of the river, opposite to Moulmein, the British station on the Salween. The general, immediately on arrival in the Rangoon river, had despatched Captain Latter on board the 'Proserpine,' with a flag of truce, to ascertain whether a reply from the king had been received, the 1st April having been the day fixed as the period; after which, were no answer received to the Governor-general's letter, hostilities would commence. The flag of truce was not respected, but fired upon, and Captain Brooking, the commander of the 'Proserpine,' had to return the fire of the stockades, and to withdraw his little vessel, which he skilfully effected, blowing up a magazine of the enemy, and otherwise doing severe execution, in return for the insult to the flag of truce. No doubt, therefore, could be entertained of the resolve of the enemy to try his strength with the British forces, when the movement on Martaban was decided upon.

"Sending on, upon the 2d, the 'Proserpine,' to Moulmein, to give notice of projected movements, her majesty's steamers 'Hermes, 'Rattler,' and 'Salamander,' left the Rangoon river at day-break of the 3d April, and reached Moulmein at noon of the next day. General Godwin immediately issued orders, that the troops destined for assaulting Martaban were to be in readiness for embarkation by 4 P.M.; and by that evening a wing of H. M. 80th, a wing of H. M. 18th, a wing of the 26th Madras N. I., with detachments of Bengal artillery and Madras sappers, in all about 1400 men, were on board.

"Martaban is in itself a most insignificant place; and provided the steamers could be brought into position, so as to admit of the effective play of their artillery, it was not possible for the Burmese to defend the place. Approach to it, however, is difficult; and though Captain Brooking of the 'Proserpine' knew the river well, and led the way, yet the 'Hermes' grounded.

"The 'Rattler,' however, after putting General Godwin on board the 'Proserpine,' managed well; and taking up a position at a little upwards of a couple of hundred yards from the town defences, opened a destructive fire. Meanwhile the 'Proserpine' was engaged in taking the troops from the larger steamers and in landing them, keeping up at the same time a constant fire with her guns. The enemy, loosely estimated at 5000 men, offered no resistance, and the place was taken, with only a few wounded on the side of the British. Having garrisoned the place with the 26th M. N. I. and some Madras artillery, the general took with him the wings of the 18th and 80th Regiments, the company of Bengal artillery, and some Madras sappers, and again reached the rendezvous of the Rangoon river on the 8th.

"Whilst the movement on Martaban was taking place, Commodore Lambert, having with him Lieut.-colonel Coote, and three companies of the 18th Regiment, was finding work for the 'Fox,' 'Serpent,' 'Tenasserim,' and 'Phlegethon,' in destroying stockades up the Rangoon river, and thus disembarrassed the approach from the Bassein creek, nearly to the king's wharf at Rangoon, of these river defences. On the 5th, several stockades were thus taken and burnt, without any casualties. These bonfires were so effectual, that General Godwin afterwards could scarcely find a trace of where the stockades had stood.

"The general, on the 8th of April, had the satisfaction of seeing the Bombay squadron and the Madras division of troops at the rendezvous. He thus found available for operations a total of ships of war, 19; men, 8,037; guns, 159.

"Fourteen transports (7,888 tons) and the King of Ava's ship were the adjuncts to the above force, and carried coal, commissariat, ordnance, and engineer stores. One of them, the 'Tubal Cain,' of 787 tons, was employed as an hospital ship.

"The 9th being passed in making dispositions, on the 10th the fleet, advancing up the river, came to anchor below the Hastings' Shoal. On the 11th, as the tide served, the vessels crossed the shoal, and were soon engaged in silencing the stockades, and subsequently in storming and burning those on the immediate bank of the river. This important day's work cleared the approaches to Rangoon, and secured the orderly and undisturbed landing of the troops at daybreak of the 12th.

"By seven o'clock General Godwin had on shore, and ready to advance, H.M.'s 51st, H.M.'s 18th, and 48th Bengal N. I., and some of his field-pieces; and with this portion of the force he contemplated that morning storming Rangoon. When the column advanced, it did not proceed far before guns opened upon it, and skirmishers showed themselves in the jungle. Here it was discovered that a strong stockade, called in the last war the White-house Picquet, lay just in the way of the advance. Four field-guns immediately opened upon the work; whilst a storming party of four companies of H. M.'s 51st advanced, under cover of the jungle, to the assault. The experience of the last war had been lost sight of. The critical moment in attacking a stockade is when you break forth from the jungle, and come upon the open space cleared around it; once there, the quicker you close upon the work, plant your scaling-ladders and assault, the better; the head of the column, if this be smartly done, suffers little, and the stockade is carried with a few casualties among the rearmost sections. Hesitation, however, or a halt at the edge of the jungle which you have cleared, entails a certainty of loss, and often a failure. Judging from the despatches, there seems to have been a momentary check, for Major Fraser of the Engineers mounted alone the enemy's defences, and his gallantry 'brought around him the storming party.'

" It is evident that this unexpected taste of the enemy made the general bethink himself of the remainder of his force and of the possibility of the battering-guns being of use in the attack of the main position at the Dragon pagoda. More destructive than the enemy, the sun had struck down Warren, St. Maur, Foord, Griffith, and Oakes, some of his leading and most valuable officers; and all were suffering from fatigue and exhaustion; rest, rations, and reinforcements were necessary before the more serious assault on the pagoda could be attempted. Bivouacking, therefore, on the ground, the remainder of the 12th, and all the 13th, were passed in landing the battering-guns and the other portion of the force, and in making preparations for the advance early on the 14th. Whilst the troops were thus bivouacked for a couple of days, the flotilla was not idle; the Dragon pagoda proving to be within reach of the shells of the shipping, a magazine was blown up in the main position of the enemy on the 12th; and the fire continued at intervals throughout the day and night of the 13th, with precision, and with very formidable effect. Almost the first shell sent into the place on the 12th was said to have burst in the governor's house, and to have wounded him in the leg; and not only was a magazine destroyed by the bombardment, but during the nights of the 12th and 13th, the whole of the new town was burnt by the fire from the shipping. There was no cover from this destructive bombardment, and of the 25,000 men whom the enemy was said to have had in his works on the 11th, large numbers fled during the three days that the fleet was pouring its shot and shell into every work and stockade that its far-reaching fire could search. None but the bravest of the enemy remained until the 14th, and these, too, necessarily much dispirited by the desertion of so many of their combatants, the loss and destruction of so many stockades, the conflagration of the town, and the immeasurable superiority of the British artillery afloat."*

"We must not omit to mention, that the Armenians and Mahomedans who remained behind when the English resident embarked on the 14th of January, had been fleeced of all their property by the Burmese, and reduced to such a state of destitution and distress, that their surviving it appears almost miraculous. They now obtained their release, and reported that when the shells began to fall thick and fast in the new town on the 12th, the viceroy fled to the upper part of the city and took refuge in a hall on the north side of the great pagoda, so terrified that he could scarcely speak. He remained there till the evening of the 13th, when he fled with a large guard, and was soon followed by the deputy-governor and many other officers, and some of the troops. Only about 10,000 Burmese remained in and near the great pagoda under military chiefs, on the morning of the 14th.

"The troops were all under arms by five in the morning of the 14th, in the finest temper for dealing with the enemy. It should be observed that the old town of Rangoon had ceased to exist. Thirty thousand men had been employed for several months by the governor in breaking it up, and erecting a new town a mile and a half farther in. Not a vestige of Rangoon, as it stood on the 1st of January, was now to be seen, except the houses of some of the priests, and heaps of bricks. The old road to the pagoda from the river led up to its southern gate, through the new town, and the enemy expecting that our troops must necessarily pursue this route, had made every preparation to receive them, having armed the defences with nearly a hundred pieces of cannon. To have attempted to storm the place from this point would have cost half the force. The general, therefore, turned the enemy's position, passed the new and stockaded town, and planted his force opposite the eastern side of the great pagoda. There Major Turton placed his heavy guns in battery, but a heavy fire of guns and wall pieces was kept up from the Great Pagoda and the town, from which the troops suffered severely; the enemy's skirmishers also began to close on the crowded mass of our troops, and it required 500 men to keep down their fire. At eleven o'clock in the morning, Captain Latter stated to the general, that from what he could perceive of the east entrance of the pagoda on which our men were playing, the approach was clear, and that he was prepared to lead the way. As our troops were dropping fast where they stood, from the incessant fire of the enemy, the general determined on an immediate assault. The storming party was formed of the wing of H. M.'s 80th under Major Lockhart, two companies of the Royal Irish under Lieut. Hewett, and two companies of the 40th Native Infantry under Lieut. White, the whole commanded by Lieut.-col. Coote of the 18th Royal Irish, under Captain Latter's leading. By a strange oversight, the conduct of this officer, which saved so many lives, and shortened the conflict by a whole hour, has not received the proper meed of praise in the general's despatches. The distance to the east entrance of the pagoda was about 800 yards, which the troops crossed in the most steady manner, under a heavy fire from the walls, which were crowded with the enemy. When the troops reached the gate, which was soon pushed open, the scaling-ladders were in the rear,—the sappers and miners being altogether exhausted by the heat,—but a long flight of steps was discovered, and a tremendous rush was made to the upper terrace, from which a fearful shower of jingal-balls and bullets was poured down on the advancing party. Here the brave Lieut. Doran, the Adjutant of the 18th Royal Irish, was shot in seven places. Col. Coote was also wounded, but soon after, 'a deafening cheer told that the pagoda no longer belonged to the Burmese.' The troops of the enemy rushed out, some at the west gate towards Kemmendine, some towards the river, and only twelve of them are said to have been killed in the capture."*

---

* "Calcutta Review," Sept. 1852, pp. 19–22.

"On the 29th April the steamer 'Mahanuddy' proceeded o Seusendam, for the purpose of reconnoitring and of affording assistance to those desirous of crossing over to Rangoon. Accounts were everywhere brought them of the barbarities of the Governor of Rangoon, who had until now been lurking in the neighbourhood. British subjects and Mahomedans had been seized and butchered by him whenever they were met in with; and the numbers of dead bodies strewed around in all directions afforded proof too unquestionable of the truth of the reports. The surviving inhabitants, fearing that they had only escaped the hands of their own countrymen to fall victims to those of the invaders, fled in all directions on the approach of the steamer, when considerable parties of them fortunately were overtaken and quieted by the assurance of the friendliness of our purposes towards them. They immediately on this began to emerge from the jungles, and next day were seen crossing the river in multitudes in canoes. The commander of the 'Mahanuddy' having meanwhile discovered that the governor had just escaped, pushed up the river for about five miles, when the fugitive was sighted making his escape on an elephant—unfortunately already out of reach."*

---

* "Friend of India," Sept. 29.

The Burmese had certainly made good use of the time which had been allowed them in strengthening their positions, and providing themselves with the means of maintaining hostilities. But, having shown the causes of hostility and explained the first chapter of this long war, we shall proceed no further with it. As General Godwin extended and multiplied his operations, he received strong reinforcements from India, including the 1st European Bengal Fusiliers and other choice troops. In fact, his army was raised to an effective force of 20,000 men. Prome was taken after some sharp fighting, about the middle of October 1852, and was then permanently occupied. Pegu (the city and stockade), after being taken and retaken, was permanently occupied at the end of the year. It should appear that the progress of our arms would have been much more rapid if we had clearly announced, at the beginning, our intention to keep possession of the whole of the kingdom of Pegu, or all the lower part of the Burman dominions. The Peguans had lost none of the hatred entertained against conquerors and oppressors. Wherever our officers went these people said to them, "We would do all in our power to help you in this war, but we are afraid that when you come to make peace you will give us up to the Burmans, as you did before!" But by this time Lord Dalhousie's proclamation, distinctly announcing that we are to retain Pegu, will have removed these natural fears and misgivings.

---

* "Bombay Times."

Although better prepared for the conflict than they were in 1824, the Burmans can scarcely be said to have displayed more valour or more fortitude in resistance. They have never fought, even for a few minutes, except under cover. In the thick jungle, where our people could hardly ever see them, and where the fire of our musketry is said to have killed more monkeys than men, they have now and then made a stand and caused us some loss. Nay, on one or two occasions, they have even defeated a small weak column, led on by blindness and presumption, or without any of the precautions necessary in so covered and intricate a country. But they have never stood manfully even behind their strongest stockades. At Pegu, when the Bengal European Fusiliers got to the face of the work, the defenders gave one heavy volley, then took to their heels, and managed to escape on ponies and elephants, apparently provided for the purpose. The idea of loading their pieces a second time seems never to have occurred to them.

The war has given rise to numerous insurrections, and, finally, to what appears to be a successful revolution. A usurper, variously called Prince Mingdoor, Prince Memboo, &c., and whose real name and quality appear to be as yet unknown in Europe, has seized upon the city of Ava, made war upon the king, and sent agents down the Irrawaddi to open negociations with General Godwin. Here our imperfect information ends for the present. We would not willingly grope in the dark; and, certainly, many of these matters are still involved in obscurity. Take this as a curious example: —When this Burmese war was a year old, it was not known in England (no! not even in the India House or at the Board of Control in Cannon Row!) who was the prince with whom we were at war, or what his name and title.

On the map, the most striking feature of the country is the great Irrawaddi river, which traverses the whole of it from north to south, forms many deltas as it approaches the coast, and falls into the sea by many mouths. The branches, which shoot off a little below Donobew to find these different embouchures, are, for the most part, navigable, and bear distinctive names; as, the Rangoon river, the Chinabukeer river, the Dallah river, &c. It is on the banks of these streams, which are so convenient for commerce, and the waters of which irrigate, or annually inundate, the country, like the overflowing of the Nile, that the scanty Burman population, and the chief towns and villages, are found. From fragments of walls and other traces which still exist, we may judge that in some former ages several of these towns were of vast extent; but there does not now exist *one* that can be called a large and populous place. A few years ago Ava, the capital, did not contain more than 30,000 inhabitants, and the population does not appear to have increased since then. Before the breaking out of the war in 1824, the population of Rangoon, the greatest port of trade, and, in a manner, the emporium of the kingdom, was estimated at 15,000; but as the trade of the place increased after the conclusion of our treaty of peace, it is probable that the population had also increased between the years 1826 and 1851, when a British army again occupied it. Amarapura, which was the capital in the early part of the present century, seems to have been more extensive and much better peopled than Ava. It was not easy to ascertain the population of the other principal towns on the Irrawaddi, such as Donobew, Prome, Meaday, Melloone, Pagahm, &c., for as our troops ascended the river the inhabitants were driven off by their army into the forests and jungles. But every one of these towns exhibited symptoms of decay, and of a prosperity which had ceased to exist.

The situation of Rangoon is most advantageous for commerce: situated so near to the mouth or mouths of a great river, and to the Bay of Bengal, it is pointed out by nature as the emporium of Ava. The outward appearance of the town is far from being brilliant, presenting merely an assemblage of huts and low wooden houses, surrounded by a teak stockade. But the country in the immediate vicinity is studded with pagodas, the golden spires of which glitter through the trees of the jungle, and contribute to enliven the scene. Like all the other towns, it is conspicuous only through its religious edifices. But for the tyrannical and capricious character of the government, it must long ere this have become the seat of an extensive trade and a very considerable population. It is, however, doubtful whether, at the commencement of the present hostilities, Rangoon counted more than 30,000 inhabitants of all classes. It was long considered as the asylum of insolvent debtors from all parts of India. Colonel Symes says that, in the year 1795, it was crowded with men of desperate fortunes, with fugitives from all countries of the East, and of all complexions; that the public places exhibited a motley assemblage of traders and other people, such as few towns of much greater magnitude could produce; that Malabars, Malays, Mongols, Parsees, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, Portuguese, French, and English, were all mingled there, enjoying full toleration for their several faiths or worships. They celebrated their rites and ceremonies, and kept their festivals, totally disregarded by the Burmese, who appear never to have had any serious convictions of their own, or any the slightest inclination to make proselytes. In the same street might be heard the solemn voice of the muezzin calling the pious Mussulmans to prayer, and the bell of the Portuguese chapel tinkling a summons to Romish Christians. The Parsee worshipped the rising sun as if he had been living in the country; and in the time of Zoroaster processions met and passed each other without giving or receiving cause of offence. Provided no outward insult were offered to their own idol, Gautama, the Burmese were perfectly well satisfied. Now and then some zealous Mahommedan would get into trouble by interfering with their idols or graven images: in such case the Burmans put him into the stocks, and then either administered the bastinado or made him pay for the exemption. They seem always to have preferred the money, when they could obtain it.

The best teak for ship-building, produced in the neighbouring country and in the forests of Pegu in almost inexhaustible abundance, is easily conveyed by water to this city. The river of Rangoon, as that branch of the Irrawaddi is called, is equally convenient for the construction of ships; the spring-tides rise twenty feet in perpendicular height; the banks are soft, and so flat that there is little need of labour for the formation of docks. Vessels of any size or tonnage may be built here. "Nature," says Symes, "has liberally done her part to render Rangoon the most flourishing seaport of the Eastern world." In his time several ships, from 600 to 1000 tons, were on the stocks. All the work was performed by native carpenters, who followed a French model. One of the largest of these vessels was building for a grandee who dwelt on the opposite side of the river, and whose lady very actively performed the duties of surveyor. Every morning this lady crossed the river in her husband's barge, attended by two or three female servants; she commonly took her seat on one of the timbers in the yard and overlooked the workmen for some hours, after which she returned home, and seldom missed coming back in the evening, to see that the day's task had been completed. Her husband never accompanied her, and she did not seem to require his aid. Burmese women are not only good housewives, but good women of business, managing the more important mercantile concerns of their husbands, and attending to their interests in outdoor transactions. They were said to be, even at Rangoon, exceedingly industrious, very good mothers, and seldom from inclination unfaithful wives. "If this be a true character," adds Symes, "they meet with a most ungenerous return, for the men treat them as beings of a very subordinate order."

Under a little European guidance, the Burmese at Rangoon made excellent shipwrights. They went to their work with an energy and boldness never seen among our native workmen in Bengal; they were athletic men, and possessed, in an eminent degree, that vigour which distinguishes Europeans, and gives them pre-eminence over the enervated natives of the East. Our envoy, indeed, doubted whether the inhabitants of any other country were capable of greater bodily exertion than the Burmese.

In 1824 the shape of Rangoon was an oval, and the interior consisted of four principal streets, intersecting each other at right angles. On the sides of these streets were ranged, with a tolerable degree of regularity, the huts of the inhabitants. These were built solely with bamboos and mats, not a nail being employed in their construction: they were invariably raised two or three feet from the ground, or rather swamp, in which the town is situated, thereby allowing a free passage for the water, with which the ground is inundated after a shower, and, at the same time, affording shelter to fowls, ducks, pigs, and Pariah dogs (for that intolerable nuisance, the constant yelling of unowned dogs, is said to beat even Constantinople). The few brick houses to be seen were the property of foreigners; but even these had a mean and prison-like appearance, the windows having strong iron bars, and the only communication between the lower and upper stories being by means of shaky wooden steps placed outside the building. On the supposition that if they were to build brick houses they might be made points of resistance against government, the Burmans were prohibited the use of bricks and mortar. Only two wooden houses existed much superior to the rest: and these were the palace of the governor and the Hall of Justice, of which neither was equal to a good English barn.

The pride of Rangoon, and the only edifice near it that has any antiquity or any chance of durability, is the celebrated Shoo Dagon Prah, or Golden Dagon Pagoda, which served us as a military post during our first war with Ava. It stands on the most elevated part of a low range of hills, about two miles to the north of the city. The approach to it, on the south face, is through a fine avenue of mango, cocoa-nut, and other beautiful trees, in the shade of which are curious kioums, or temples, with monasteries attached, carved all over with griffins and other grotesque monsters. At the end of this avenue rises, abruptly, the eminence on which the Shoo Dagon stands. It is encircled by two brick terraces, one above the other; and on the summit rises the splendid pagoda, quite covered at top with gilding, which does not seem to be affected by the dampness of the climate. The ascent to the upper terrace is by a flight of stone steps, protected from the weather by an ornamented roof. The sides are defended by a balustrade representing a huge crocodile, the jaws of which are supported by two colossal figures of a male and female pulloo, or evil genius, who, with clubs in hand, emblematically guard the entrance of the temple. On these steps the Burmans, in 1824, placed two guns, to enfilade the road by which our troops approached; and when the position was carried British soldiers mounted guard there, among the emblems and idols of idolatry. The upper terrace, on which the Dagon rests, faces the cardinal points, and is 900 feet long and 685 feet broad; in the midst the great pagoda rears its lofty head, in perfect splendour. This immense octagonal monument is surrounded by a vast number of small pagodas, griffins, sphinxes, and images of the Burman deities. The height of the tee, 336 feet from the terrace, and the elegance with which this enormous mass is built, combine to render the Shoo Dagon a most striking object. From the base it assumes the form of a ball or dome, and then gracefully tapers to a point, the summit of which is surmounted by a tee, or umbrella of open iron-work, from which are suspended numerous small bells, which are set in motion by the slightest breeze, and render a confused though not unpleasant sound. The pagoda is very solid, and has been increased to its present bulk by repeated coverings of brick, the work of different kings. It was confidently asserted, when our troops first took possession, that there existed in the centre of the pagoda a large chamber full of treasure; but, to their no small disappointment, our soldiers discovered the report to be unfounded. It should appear, at least, that some of the small bells suspended from the tee were made of precious materials, for last year (1852) one of our artillerymen picked up a gold bell, which he sold in a hurry for 18*l*. No doubt, since then the bell-metal has been well examined. At each entrance to the pagoda were placed some very handsome bells, which were held to be of great antiquity. One of them was of immense size, and was hung on a large beam, supported by two pillars. The metal was a foot thick, and the circumference of the bell-mouth eighteen feet. The handle was ornamented with a couple of griffins, and the body covered with inscriptions in the Burmese and Pali languages. In the composition of this bell, it appeared that much gold and silver had been employed. An attempt was made, in April 1825, to send the great bell to Calcutta; and with much labour and difficulty it was put upon a raft, in order to be carried alongside a ship. The raft pushed off; thousands of Burmese were looking on, deploring the loss of so revered a relic of former times, when, on a sudden, the raft heeled over, and the bell sank to the bottom of the river. There it remained for months; but in January 1826, when peace was negociated, our men, with the assistance of the people of Rangoon, raised it from its watery bed, and replaced it in the great pagoda.

The city of Pegu, long the capital of the independent kingdom of that name, was, even during the last century, a densely-peopled and most flourishing city. Its extent may still be accurately traced by the ruins of the ditch and wall that surrounded it. "It is impossible," says Colonel Symes, "to conceive a more striking picture of fallen grandeur, and the desolating hand of war, than the inside of these walls displayed. Alompra, when he got possession of the city in the year 1757, razed every dwelling to the ground, and dispersed or led into captivity all the inhabitants. The temples, which are very numerous, were the only buildings that escaped the fury of the conqueror; and of these, the great pyramid of Schomadoo has alone been reverenced and kept in repair." At the time of the colonel's visit, the reigning king had recently issued orders to rebuild Pegu, and had invited the scattered families of former inhabitants to return and repeople their deserted city. A new town was built within the site of the old one. But Rangoon possessed so many advantages over Pegu, in a commercial point of view, that people engaged in business could not easily be prevailed upon to leave one of the finest sea-ports in the world to encounter the difficulties of a new settlement, where commerce must be very confined from the want of a commodious accommodation. The people induced to return consisted chiefly of priests, followers of the provincial court, and poor Peguan families who had not the means of living elsewhere. At the close of the last century their total number did not exceed six or seven thousand. It was, however, then thought that the reverence entertained for their favourite temple or pagoda would gradually attract more inhabitants. In its renovated and contracted state, Pegu occupied only one-fourth of its ancient area. On the north and east sides it was covered by the old ruined walls; in other parts it was fenced round by a stockade from ten to twelve feet high,—the same defence which General Godwin's troops stormed and carried at the close of 1852. There was one main street running east and west, crossed at right angles by two smaller streets. The new town was well paved with brick, which the ruins of the old plentifully supplied; and on each side of the way there was a drain to carry off the water. As in all parts of this empire, the houses were raised from the ground either on wooden posts or bamboos, according to the size of the building. The habitations of the higher ranks and the kioums of the priests were usually elevated six or eight; those of the poorer classes from two to four feet. But the best of these houses were built only with bamboos and sheathing boards, while the rest were little more than sheds walled in and covered with mats. On our first approach (in the course of the present war) these houses were struck like tents, or were abandoned, and the people fled, or rather were driven away, into the jungle. Hardly anything was found in the place except one or two books in the great pagoda: this is the object in Pegu which most attracts and most merits notice. Its name, the Shoomadoo, has been translated "The Golden Supreme." Its plan is that of the great pagoda at Rangoon. "This extraordinary pile of buildings," says Symes, "is erected on a double terrace, one raised upon another. The lower and greater terrace is about ten feet above the natural level of the ground, forming an exact parallelogram. The upper and lesser terrace is similar in shape, and rises about twenty feet above the lower terrace, or thirty above the level of the country. I judged a side of the lower terrace to be 1391 feet; of the upper, 684. The walls that sustained the sides of the terrace, both upper and lower, are in a ruinous state; they were formerly covered with plaster, wrought into various figures. The area of the lower is strewed with the fragments of small decayed buildings; but the upper is free from filth, and is in tolerably good order. There is reason to conclude that this building and the fortress are coeval, as the earth of which the terraces are composed appears to have been taken from the ditch—there being no other excavation in the city, or in its neighbourhood, that could have afforded a tenth part of the quantity.

"The terraces are ascended by flights of stone steps, which are now broken and neglected. On each side are dwellings of the rhahaans (priests), raised on timbers four or five feet from the ground. These houses consist only of a large hall. The wooden pillars that support them are turned with neatness; the roofs are covered with tiles, and the sides are made of boards; and there are a number of bare benches in every house, on which the rhahaans sleep; but we saw no other furniture.

"Shoomadoo is a pyramidical building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at top. Each side of the base measures 162 feet: this immense breadth diminishes abruptly;

and a similar building has, not unaptly, been compared in shape to a large speaking-trumpet.*

"Six feet from the ground there is a wide projection that surrounds the base; on the plane of which are fifty-seven small spires of equal size, and equidistant. One of them measured twenty-seven feet in height, and forty in circumference at the bottom. On a higher ledge there is another row, consisting of fifty-three spires of similar shape and measurement.

"A great variety of mouldings encircle the building; and ornaments somewhat resembling the fleur-de-lis surround the lower part of the spire. Circular mouldings likewise gird it to a considerable height, above which there are ornaments in stucco not unlike the leaves of a Corinthian capital; and the whole is crowned by a 'tee,' or umbrella of open iron-work, from which rises a rod with a gilded pennant.

"The tee, or umbrella, is to be seen on every sacred building that is of a spiral form. The raising and consecration of this last and indispensable appendage is an act of high religious solemnity, and a season of festivity and relaxation. The present king bestowed the tee that covers Shoomadoo: it was made at the capital; and many of the principal nobility came down from that city to be present at the ceremony of its elevation. The circumference of the tee is fifty-six feet: it rests on an iron axis fixed in the building, and is farther secured by large chains strongly riveted to the spire. Round the lower rim of the tee are appended a number of bells, which, agitated by the wind, make a continual jingling. The tee is gilt, and it was said to be the intention of the king to gild the whole of the lofty spire. All the lesser pagodas are ornamented with proportionable umbrellas of similar workmanship, which are likewise encircled by small bells. The extreme height of the Shoomadoo, from the level of the country, is 361 feet, and above the interior terrace, 331 feet."

Some images of Gaudama, and several unfinished figures of animals and men in grotesque attitudes, lay scattered around. At each angle of the higher terrace there stood a temple sixty-seven feet high, resembling in miniature the great temple.

---

* See Mr. Hunter's "Account of Pegu."

In front of one of these were four gigantic representations, in masonry, of their demon, or evil genius, half beast half human. In another part of that area were two human figures in stucco, each beneath a gilded umbrella. One, standing, represents a man with a book before him, and a pen in his hand: he is the recorder of merits and misdeeds. The other, a female figure kneeling, is the protectress of the universe, so long as the universe is doomed to last; but, when the time of general dissolution arrives, by her hand the world is to be overwhelmed.

"Along the whole extent of the north face of the upper terrace," continues Symes, "there is a wooden shed for the convenience of devotees who come from a distant part of the country. On the north side of the temple are three large bells, of good workmanship, suspended nigh the ground, between pillars. Several deers' horns lie strewn around. Those who come to pay their devotions first take up one of the horns, and strike the bell three times, giving an alternate stroke to the ground. This act, I was told, is to announce to the spirit of Gaudma the approach of a suppliant. There are several low benches near the foot of the temple, on which the person who comes to pray places his offering—commonly consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or cocoa-nut fried in oil. When it is given, the devotee cares not what becomes of it; the crows and wild dogs often devour it in presence of the donor, who never attempts to disturb the animals. I saw several plates of victuals disposed of in this manner, and understood it to be the case with all that was brought.

"There are many small temples on the areas of both terraces, which are neglected, and suffered to fall into decay. Numberless images of Gaudma lie indiscriminately scattered. A pious Birman who purchases an idol, first procures the ceremony of consecration to be performed by the rhahaans; he then takes his purchase to whatever sacred building is most convenient, and there places it within the shelter of a kioum, or on the open ground before the temple; nor does he ever again seem to have any anxiety about its preservation, but leaves the divinity to shift for itself. Some of those idols are made of marble that is found in the neighbourhood of the capital of the Birman dominions, and admits of a very fine polish; many are formed of wood and gilded, and a few are of silver: the latter, however, are not usually exposed and neglected like the others. Silver and gold are rarely used, except in the composition of household gods.

"On both the terraces are a number of white cylindrical flags, raised on bamboo poles. These flags are peculiar to the rhahaans, and are considered as emblematic of purity, and of their sacred function. On the top of the staff there is a henza, or goose, the symbol both of the Birman and Pegu nations.

"From the upper projection that surrounds the base of Shoomadoo, the prospect of the circumjacent country is extensive and picturesque; but it is a prospect of Nature in her rudest state. There are few inhabitants, and scarcely any cultivation. The hills of Martaban rise to the eastward, and the Sitang river, winding along the plains, gives an interrupted view of its waters. To the north-west, about forty miles, are the Galladzet hills, whence the Pegu river takes its rise,—hills remarkable only for the noisome effects of their atmosphere. In every other direction the eye looks over a boundless plain, chequered by a wild intermixture of wood and water."

The priests give a fabulous antiquity to the great pagoda: they say that it was founded 2300 years ago by two merchants, brothers, who came to Pegu from a district one day's journey to the east of Martaban. They were aided by invisible spirits, who, by night, increased the elevation of the temple, which was afterwards gradually augmented by successive kings of Pegu, whose archives, and whose very names, have perished in the universal wreck.

Prome is admirably situated on the Irrawaddi; is, for the country, a place of great trade, and in peaceful times contains a population nearly equal to that of Rangoon. It also is within the limits of the Peguan kingdom, and will thus remain in our possession. It is situated on the right bank, on a narrow plain lying between the river and the hills. It is composed of the "myo," or fort, being a common square stockade resembling that of Rangoon, but larger; and of two suburbs, the one lying east and the other west of it, along the banks of the river. As at Rangoon, the suburbs, consisting each of one long street, appear to contain the principal population. The myo contains two streets, running parallel to each other and to the river.

In these the houses are but few and scattered, and the principal part of the area is occupied by gardens, or rather by patches of ground, occupied by fruit or ornamental trees, or coarse esculent vegetables, such as gourds, pumpkins, and cucumbers. In 1826, just after our first war, Mr. Crawfurd found that Prome was a thriving place, and that the bank of the river was then quite lined with small trading-vessels. He and the gentlemen of his mission were received in the kindest manner by the inhabitants. Here, as elsewhere, the great pagoda is the principal, and, indeed, only object of attraction. It is richly gilded nearly all over, and is really a fine object in approaching the town. It is distant from the river about half a mile, and rises immediately behind the town, upon a hill about 130 feet high: it is exactly of the same form and construction as the great pagoda at Rangoon, but a good deal smaller. On the day of the full moon the Burmans visited this pagoda early in the morning, clad in their best dresses, and bearing offerings, which chiefly consisted of fruits and flowers. Our envoy found this a very pleasant scene. The people were cheerful, but very decorous.

Ava, the capital, called by the Burmans Ratanapura, or the City of Gems, is surrounded by a brick wall fifteen and a half feet in height and ten feet in thickness: this wall is, for the most part, miserably built. The Irrawaddi flows past its walls, and the south and west faces of the town are defended by a deep and rapid torrent. Excluding the suburbs, the circumference of Ava round the walls is about five miles and a half. In general, the houses are mere huts, thatched with reeds or strong grass. Some of the dwellings of the chiefs are constructed of planks, and tiled, and there are probably in all not half-a-dozen houses constructed of brick and mortar. Poor as the houses are, they are thinly scattered over the extensive area of the place; and some large quarters are, indeed, wholly destitute of habitations. Of course there are in Ava many temples, the tall white or gilded spires of which give to the distant view of the place a splendid and imposing appearance, very far from being realised on a closer inspection. Mr. Crawfurd did not think that this capital contained even 25,000 inhabitants: of the climate, he and others speak favourably.

All the observations which are now before us agree in representing the Burman empire as having long been in a state of decay. This is nowhere made more apparent than in some of their old and now deserted cities. Many of these places bear signs of former greatness, and of a progress in the arts far beyond that which now exists in the country. At Meingoon, on the Irrawaddi, there are numerous buildings and sculptures, which approach to magnificence; but the few inhabitants dwell in miserable huts, constructed of bamboo and covered with straw and rushes; the buildings are all in ruins, and the statues, though representing their divinities, are all mutilated. At Pagahm-Miou, which, about six centuries ago, was the seat of government, there is a beautiful brick wall, now fallen to ruin, a wide ditch, some splendid arched gates, and pagodas so numerous that they serve as a popular proverb; for when a Burman speaks of an impossibility, he says, "It would be as easy to count the pagodas at Pagahm!" Everybody who has seen these fine monuments of former ages has taken them as striking proofs of the splendour and grandeur which formerly existed in the country. One of our officers engaged in the last war says:—"Here it was impossible to move a few yards without seeing the ruins of religious edifices. Some appeared to have been splendidly carved and adorned; others, from time and neglect, had fallen so much to decay, that they were scarcely distinguishable from the adjoining rubbish. Here you would see a mouldering arch, still retaining its tottering position by the aid of natural ligatures of strong parasitic plants, and sheltering under its venerable cover a mutilated image of Gaudma, whilst in its vicinity the ruins of large vaulted chambers and galleries could be distinctly traced; and, strewed over the plain, many immense pagodas, whose stable construction had withstood the ravages of age and of the elements, towered over the minor edifices, and appeared like so many magnificent mausoleums. Indeed the whole scene, from the peculiar style of architecture, and dreary, desolate appearance of the temples, seemed like a gigantic burial-ground. Occasionally a new pagoda, or an old one lately repaired, attested the devotion of the present population; but these instances were mere trifles when compared with the remnants of days of yore. One edifice particularly attracted my attention, from its being totally different to any I had seen. It was of a quadrangular form and large dimensions, and entered by several arched gateways. A vaulted gallery ran round the interior, and in the centre was an image of Gaudma. Above this pile rose a second, similar in design, but smaller, and the whole was surmounted by a small pagoda. The Burman arches are very neatly made, and their vaulted roofs appear to be built with great stability; but, unfortunately, the art of vaulting is now quite lost to the Burmans, and the modern attempts at arching are very rude and imperfect. The outside of the large pagoda above-mentioned was stuccoed over, and divided into compartments, the fields of which were filled up in basso-relievo with grotesque images of men and monsters. The contrast offered to the handsome temples by the miserable huts at their base is very melancholy; if it is considered that, throughout the whole of the empire, man is kept back from the improvements of civilisation, and obliged, after the art of building has been known for ages, still to occupy such a small substitute for a house, when every glance he casts around him points out that it is not from ignorance or inability his habitation is thus wretched, since, to propitiate a senseless idol, these splendid specimens of architecture have at different times arisen by the labour of his fellow-countrymen. Near the walls of Pagahm, under a grove of trees, were several kioums of great antiquity, and beautifully carved. These ancient buildings I invariably observed to be much better ornamented than those which have been erected of late years; everything, indeed, we saw, as a work of art, appeared to have deteriorated from former days, and would induce the belief that the Burman nation was fast receding in the scale of civilisation. By far the most beautiful place of worship we had seen, and, in point of elegance, superior to the famed Shoé Dagon, was a pagoda situated a quarter of a mile from the east gate of Pagahm. It was built in the form of a cross; the walls were about seventy feet high, very narrow, and aired by arched windows. These passages ran round the centre of the building, where, facing each entrance, were placed, in large niches, four stupendous gilt images of Gaudma, fifty feet high. In the sides of the galleries were niches containing stone idols; and at the west gate was a stone, with the impression of Buddha's feet. Lofty folding-doors, of open wood-work, defended each entrance from intruders, and both the inside and outside of the building were neatly stuccoed and whitewashed, and adorned with a variety of images of Gaudma, griffins, sphinxes, and monsters. A spacious area, well paved with flag-stones, and encircled by a brick wall, surrounded the building, and contained poles, supporting the henzah, chattahs, and all the rest of the religious paraphernalia. The Shoezeegoon, as this temple is called, was erected very many years since, and, like the Shoemadoo, is said to have been the work of supernatural agency. Some centuries past, when this building was commenced, the workmen employed in its construction, who were advancing but slowly in their undertaking, were surprised one morning on observing that, although they had ceased their labours at sunset, a most extraordinary addition had been made to the edifice during the night; and on inquiry, the actors in this deed could not be heard of: every one disclaimed any knowledge of the transaction, which, it was supposed, none but immortal hands could have performed; and the workmen again resumed their labour, leaving off, as before, at dusk. The next morning the same prodigy appeared: day after day their wondering eyes were gratified with the gradual increase of the building, and at last it attained its present form, when both the visible and invisible architects ceased from their toils, leaving a reputation of great sanctity attached to this singular edifice.

"Whilst I was examining the curiosities of the spot, a number of young girls, and two or three men, dressed in their holiday clothes, entered the gates for the purpose of paying homage at the shrine of Gaudma, and presenting an offering of a number of small wax tapers, which they lit, and placed at the foot of one of the colossal images. This illumination, seen at the end of the long, dark aisle, had a very pretty effect, and showed to great advantage the disparity of size of the humble adorers of Gaudma and the huge representations of that god, which every now and then emitted a brilliant flash, as its gilded surface reflected the rays of light thrown on it by the tapers, or disappeared in the obscurity when the wind rushed through the vaulted passage of the temple, and almost extinguished the candles.

"Adjoining the Shoezeegoon was another edifice, exceedingly worthy of remark, as containing a great variety of

Burman paintings. A vaulted gallery, enclosing a small chamber, and covered by a pinnacled roof, formed this Burman Louvre; and on the walls, in fresco, were described numerous groups of figures pursuing different occupations, and crowded together as thick as possible. Here you see a number of women carrying their offerings to a temple; a little further on is a river, with boats plying on the surface, and fish, larger than the men, putting their heads above the water. Another space represents a group of prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, waiting the approach of an infuriated elephant sent to destroy them; and a line of soldiers, drawn up with great regularity, some armed with spears, others with muskets, offers an excellent specimen of the Burman warriors.

"Indeed, the various figures portrayed on the walls cannot be enumerated: elephants, camels, horses, deer, dogs, men, and women, were there promiscuously depicted; and, though with the most perfect disregard of anything like perspective, were still not devoid of merit. The edging which surrounded these drawings, and divided them from the ornaments on the ceiling, was a beautiful performance, and the exact counterpart of the borders of a Cashmere shawl: the ceiling, also, was brilliantly ornamented with a diversity of rich patterns, similar to those of a carpet, but showing a great variety, every small division being of a different design from the preceding one, and the whole executed with the greatest neatness and precision.

"Although the drawings were of great age, and that no pains had been taken to preserve them from the effect of damp, they still retained the most brilliant and vivid hues, and were not in the least falling to decay; consequently the colours used must have been of a very superior kind to any now known."*

In other old and now deserted towns there are the remains of other edifices, equal in beauty to those at Pagahm: but in the new towns no such interesting remnants are found; and the buildings which exist, though often richly gilded, and looking well at a distance, are rudely put together, and show, in their ornamentation, a woful decline of execution and taste. The same rule holds good with other kinds of art or workmanship. If any superior lacquer-ware or jewellery, or any other kind of work in gold or silver, be found, it is almost sure to be old. The workmen of Ava confess that they cannot do what their forefathers did. But their confession is not needed — the evidence of a great falling off is seen in all things.

---

* "Two Years in Ava."

In former times the dwelling-houses in the chief towns appear to have been solidly built of masonry and timber; now they are composed almost entirely of bamboos and rushes, and are frequently burnt down by hundreds at a time. As they cost very little, and the materials are always at hand, they are rebuilt almost as quickly as they are consumed. The frequent removal of the capital may have contributed to the continuance of this rude system of building; but the frequency of wars and internal commotions has done more in preventing the introduction of a better style of domestic architecture. During these troubles the people flitted from place to place, driving their cattle with them, and setting up their bamboo huts in some district which promised a temporary tranquillity, and offered soil suited to the cultivation of rice and a few other grains. If they remained for any length of time on one spot they built a few temples and pagodas, and when they removed, these edifices remained as the only proofs that they had ever lived there; for they had carried off with them the best of their bamboos, and the other materials of their fragile dwellings utterly disappeared after the first periodical rains. Wherever two or three pagodas were raised, a name was given to the place; and it appears generally to have been set down as a considerable village, if not as a town. Oddly enough the people retain these names, and speak of the places as if they were inhabited. As our troops in 1825 were marching through the forests above Prome, they were frequently told by the native guides that they would soon reach a town, the name of which was always given at full length; but on coming to the spot they almost invariably found the ruins of a few religious edifices, surrounded with jungle, and not a house, not a hovel, not the slightest sign of human life near the spot. But even in tranquil, or comparatively tranquil times, the Burmans have a wandering, nomadic propensity, which they may have inherited from their

Tartar ancestors; and they can shift their bamboo dwellings with about as much ease as the Tartars move their black tents.

Notwithstanding the number of their temples and their somewhat numerous priesthood, the Burmans, in matters of religion, appear to rival the indifference of the Cochin-Chinese. They are generally exceedingly superstitious, but never devout. The Buddhism of all these Indu-Chinese nations is very lax. In spite of one of its primary dogmas, they all eat animal food, and, indeed, the flesh of all living things, clean or unclean. The Burmans are quite as indiscriminate in their food as their neighbours. They are still more indifferent to the shedding of human blood. Their Buddhism, in fact, does not prevent their being a most sanguinary people, fond of the sight of blood, and of torturing, hacking, and mutilating the human frame.

The doctrines of this bastard Buddhism, the institution, and the external forms of devotion, appear to be the same here as in Siam and Kamboja. The priesthood, however, complain that the Burmans are much more addicted to heresy and schism than their neighbours; and it appears that of late years several individuals in this country have broached new doctrines, and have gained a considerable number of followers. But these men appear to have aimed rather at reforming the old established faith than at introducing new doctrines. They may have been to Burman Buddhism what the Wahadees were to Mahommedanism. But it is dangerous to indulge in polemics under a government like this. The king caused the most famous of these reformers to be carried up to Ava, and then, having heard his disputations, he told the reformer that he was an ass and a rebel, and handed him over to the chief executioner, who cut off his head.

These reformers were all laymen. They principally decried the luxury of the priests, and ridiculed the idea of attaching religious saving merit to the piling up of bricks and mortar, or the building of temples and pagodas. Their tenets have been repeatedly proscribed, and other reformers have been put to death, besides the bold man who had the imprudence to dispute with a king. Yet all this does not imply any earnest conviction or zeal in belief. The spirit of persecution in Ava is rather political than religious. The state reprobates every kind of innovation, as insolent and dangerous; and the "Lord of Life and Property" cannot endure that any subject should have the presumption to differ with him in opinion.

Neither the Christian missionary nor the Mahommedan propagandist has made any progress with the Burmans, if we except a few timid and uncertain converts made by the American missionaries, who have long frequented Ava, and have laboured hard to acquire the language and obtain a knowledge of the country and people. There is no popular bigotry to stand in the way of conversion, but this is checked by popular indifference. There appears to be no corner of the Burman mind into which the seeds of belief and devotion can be cast. At the termination of our first war great numbers of the people retired, and established themselves in the territories ceded to the British. Here they have been relieved from all fear of their tyrannical government, and left perfectly free to follow the dictates of their own conscience; but although missionaries have remained among them, and books have been printed and schools erected for them, we have not yet heard of any important result. Let us, however, entertain better hopes for the future.

Burmese Chapel.

The Burman temples are generally far inferior to those of Siam, both in magnitude and splendour. The images are both fewer and smaller. No statues in brass or other metals are to be seen, and it is believed that the art of casting them is unknown to the Burmans, although daily practised by the Siamese. This, however, is partly accounted for by the abundance of fine white marble, of which the Burmans are possessed, and of which their best idols are formed. The richly-carved wood of the doors, windows, and gable-roofs of the Siamese temples, constitutes their best ornament. In the Burman temples there is nothing at all comparable to it. While the Siamese temples are spacious buildings, open, diversified, and richly ornamented within, the majority of the modern temples of Ava are but solid masses of brick and mortar, presenting nothing to the eye but a mere blank, shapeless exterior. The king's pagoda at Ava is in better style; but, upon inquiry, it was found to have been built, not by a native artist but by a Hindu from Madras, who had also constructed a handsome terrace at the royal palace. The materials of this pagoda are excellent, the plaster being almost as smooth, white, and shining as marble. About the central building there is a quadrangular area, surrounding which there is a covered gallery, opening inwards, and having the outer walls covered with drawings, which are described as being as rude as possible. The subjects represented are the Buddhist hell, with all its tortures and punishments; the Buddhist paradise; and the birth, adventures, and death of Gautama. Beneath the pictures are written characters, describing (not without necessity) what the artist intended to represent. In the interior of the temple the principal images of Buddha are not of marble, but of carved wood, gilt all over. For every temple in Siam there appeared to be twenty in Ava; but by far the larger proportion of the Burmese temples are small, or paltry in the extreme. In Siam none but the rich and powerful take to temple-building, the poorer classes satisfying themselves with making contributions to the edifices erected by their superiors: but in Ava every petty head of a village, or, indeed, every man that has got together a modicum of wealth, builds a temple of his own; and temple-building, and now the endowment of monasteries, is considered the principal road to salvation. In Ava the monasteries and temples are separate and distinct, and very unequal in number, there being, perhaps, fifty or more temples for one monastery. The number of talapoins in the country is very far below that of the priesthood in Siam. There, as we have stated, it is the fashion for every male inhabitant to enter the priesthood once in his life, though it be but for a very short time. This custom does not exist among the Burmans. Their talapoins are not the more respectable for being less numerous. They are said to be great consumers of opium and ardent spirits, and (beyond mere outward show) to be little respected by the people.

The Burman government acts as if it had little reliance on the teaching and preaching of the talapoins. Once a month, at the new moon, a great procession goes about the city of Ava, and public criers read, or repeat by heart, a proclamation, enjoining the people to observe certain moral precepts. These recite the five principal Buddhist commandments, and recommend to parents kindness to their children, and to children duty to their parents. In order that temporal punishment may be held out *in terrorem*, the procession is headed by the principal hangman, who carries a rod in one hand and a rope in the other. He is followed by a numerous band of assistant executioners, each of whom carries a rod and a rope, so that there is not the slightest chance of these significant symbols of justice being overlooked. After these professional gentlemen follow a drum and two gongs, a party of the king's guard, a led horse, an elephant carrying the chief herald, and three horses, carrying each a crier.

The priests are supported by alms, and are described as active beggars. Like those of Siam they must not attend to any secular affairs, or do any kind of work. It is conjectured that they are little given to reading, as there are very few libraries, and these generally locked up and neglected. They have an order or class of nuns, or priestesses, called Thi-la-shen, who shave their heads, and wear garments of a particular cut—generally white, for they must not wear yellow, like the priests. The live in humble dwellings close to the monasteries, and make a vow of chastity, to endure as long as they continue in the sisterhood; but they may quit it and marry whenever they please, or whenever they find it possible and convenient so to do. These women, at market hours, are always found begging in the market-places. The priests, as well as the nuns, are under the government of a secular officer of some rank, who settles the disputes and quarrels that arise among them.

The Siamese practice of embowelling the dead, and preserving the body embalmed, for a long period before it is consumed on the funeral pile, is confined in Ava to the priesthood. The funeral pile is a car on wheels; and the body is blown away from a huge wooden cannon or mortar, in order to convey the soul more rapidly to a happier habitation. Immense crowds are collected at these funerals, which, far from being conducted with mourning or solemnity, are occasions of rude mirth and boisterous rejoicing. Ropes are attached to each extremity of the car, and pulled in opposite directions by adverse parties; one pretending a wish to consume the body, and the other a desire to oppose the burning. The latter are at length overcome, fire is set to the pile, amidst shouts, and yells, and loud acclamations, and the body is consumed.

Whenever the Burmans have made the slightest approach to science, it has been by following either the Chinese or the Hindus. Of navigation and geography they are supremely ignorant. The possession of a sea-coast, comprehending at least one-third of the Bay of Bengal, with five good harbours and several navigable rivers, it might have been expected, would have converted the Burmese into a maritime and commercial people; but the excessive badness of their political institutions has far more than outweighed all these natural advantages. The Burman ministers who negociated with our officers at the conclusion of the first war, betrayed a lamentable ignorance of the geography of even their own country.

In the apprehension of all classes of the natives, the noblest study and the highest science is alchemy. With them it is confined to the search after the philosopher's stone. At least it is said, that their religion prevents their wishing for immortality, and that, therefore, they do not seek for the "elixir." Their aspiration is to be able to transmute the baser metals into gold and silver. Persons of all ranks, who can afford to waste their time and money, eagerly engage in this pursuit. The king who reigned in 1824, occupied most of his leisure hours in it; and his courtiers, wives, and near relatives were all hunting for the philosopher's stone, or patronising those who made the most absurd of experiments. A question frequently put to the English was, whether, in our country, we did not possess the art of turning iron into silver and copper into gold. They observed our comparative wealth, and thought they could not so rationally account for it as by imagining that we had discovered the art for which they had been seeking for generations and for ages. When they saw our officers collecting fossils and minerals, they made quite sure that they would be transmuted and coined into money.

Their physicians appear to be little better than charm-sellers. They have, however, some simple medicinal drugs, chiefly derived from the vegetable kingdom. When the English army entered Donobew, a large stock of medicine was found in the house of the chief doctor. To surgery they have no pretensions. When talking of the bravery of the white people, they said it was no use cutting off an arm when an English soldier seized the summit of a stockade to assist himself in getting over, for that he immediately made use of the other arm; and that, after an action, the English doctors went about the field looking for the severed legs and arms, which they fastened on again.

One curious custom of the Burman physicians may be mentioned. If a young woman is dangerously ill, the doctor and her parents frequently enter into an agreement, the doctor undertaking to cure her. If she lives, the doctor takes her as his property; but if she dies, he pays her value to the parents; for in the Burman dominions no parent parts with his daughter, whether to be a wife or a concubine, without a valuable consideration. "I do not know," adds Dr. Buchanan, "if the doctor may sell the girl again, or must retain her in his family; but the number of fine young women which I saw in the house of a doctor at Meaday, makes me think the practice to be very common."*

Their arithmetical knowledge is almost confined to the multiplication table. A few rare men, who aspire to the character of "learned," advance from their elements of knowledge to the study of astrology and the Pali language. The Pali alphabet, as it is written by the Burmans, is essentially

---

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. vi.

the same as that of other Buddhist nations. It is not often used by the Burmese, even in their religious writings. The native Burman alphabet is nearly the same as that of Pegu and Arracan. The character, which consists for the most part of circles and segments of circles, has the advantage of simplicity, and is said to be easily acquired and written. The structure of the language itself is strikingly simple. It may now be easily acquired by Europeans, from our possession of a copious dictionary and valuable grammar of it, compiled by Mr. Judson, the American missionary, who lived so long at Ava. An edition has been printed at the missionary press at Serampore, which has subsequently put forth some other useful works connected with the language and literature of this country.

The literature of the Burmans, like that of the Siamese, is nearly all metrical, and consists of songs, religious romances, and chronological histories. In translation, all these appear to European taste monotonous, unimaginative, vapid, and inane. There appear, however, to be some relieving features in a portion of their national annals. " There is," says Mr. Crawfurd, " an air of authenticity and moderation in Burman chronology singular in the East, and scarcely to be looked for among so rude a people. Contrary to my expectations, I was, indeed, informed in Ava that the Burmese possessed some historical compositions, in which points of chronology were curiously discussed, or at least concerning which the writers, contrary to Oriental usage, thought it worth their while to pause and inquire. No doubt there will be found much discrepancy in their early narratives; but the remarkable fact still remains of so rude a people attempting at all to exercise their reason on such subjects. I have little doubt but that they have been led into this course by the numerous inscriptions, all, or almost all of them, bearing royal names and dates, which are scattered over the country, and the presence of which would always afford a ready refutation to the pretended chronologist, who consulted only his imagination." These dated inscriptions, on stone or marble slabs or pillars, exist in all parts of the country to which Europeans have penetrated, and are often found near some temple or pagoda, in the heart of a wood or jungle, where men have not lived for ages.

Of the rude state of agriculture and the mechanical arts, enough has been said already; nor is it necessary to dwell upon the government, which is essentially and thoroughly a government of force and terror, having no claim on the affections of the people. Two cabinet pictures, or court scenes, may be given as very explanatory. In 1826, when Mr. Crawfurd was attempting to add a commercial treaty to the treaty of peace already concluded, the king took offence at the chief negociators, who were his highest and most dignified ministers. When they appeared in his presence, he called them liars, cheats, thieves, and traitors, and drew his sword upon them. The ministers took to flight, and the king pursued them sword in hand. Some who could scarcely have been supposed to be so nimble, leaped over the balustrades at the end of the hall; but the greater number escaped by the stairs which led to the hall, and, in the confusion and terror they were in, they tumbled head over heels, the one on top of another! Such royal paroxysms were pretty frequent at Ava, and when they occurred there was nothing for the grandees and courtiers but to jump, run, or tumble out of the presence as quickly as possible. If the king's anger lasted, they hid themselves for a day or two in holes and corners. His majesty's father, though less passionate, or less frequently so, had his fits and furies. Returning one day from a pilgrimage to a very great temple, he detected something flagitious in the conduct of his ministers,—which could never have been very difficult for him to do. His wrath rose, and, seizing his spear, he attacked his whole cabinet. The ministers fled helter-skelter. One hapless courtier had his heels tripped up in the flight: the king overtook him, and wounded him in the calf of the leg with his spear. A European who was present at this last scene described it to our envoy.

In all the conferences which Mr. Crawfurd had with the negociators, the meetings were beset with spies, employed and sent by the court, not so much to watch the proceedings of the Englishmen as the conduct of their own ministers and officers. During the progress of the war, when it was of the highest importance to discover the movements and the strength of our columns, the Burman chiefs in the field employed spies to watch us. Some of these fellows had an immensity of address, cunning, and self-possession; and several among them had picked up a smattering of English. One day a very active, silent little spy, was observed by some of our people, who fancied that they had seen his face before, either at Rangoon or at Calcutta. A sailor solved the mystery by carelessly asking the man if he would take "one glass of grog?" The love of drink quite overcame the Burman's caution, and he replied, in very distinct English, that he would be happy to drink grog. On being thus detected, he readily enough confessed that he had been sent by the Maha Bandula to gain information respecting our steam-ship, which had excited the alarm and superstitious dread of the great native general. It was not a case to make use of the military law applicable to spies. The fellow was taken into the service of one of our officers as a groom, in which situation he continued until our army got near to the capital, when he quietly went over to his countrymen, trusting to find a good market for his knowledge of our language and habits. Mr. Crawfurd found him up at Ava, practising his old trade in the service of the king. On another occasion, which happened at Ava during the stay of our mission, nearly all the ministers and head-men at court were in durance vile. The king and queen went down the Irrawaddi on a water-party of pleasure. It was expected that, as their majesties started in boats, they would return in the same manner, and at the appointed time the grandees were all at the water-side to make their genuflexions, and receive the royal pair. But, by some whim, the king chose to leave his boats, and return by land; and when he and the queen reached the city, at a point where they were not expected, there was not so much as a single courtier to be seen. For this the grandees, who had been waiting on the river-bank, were reviled, thrown into the common prison, and loaded with three pair of irons a-piece. They were left in this plight, among robbers and cut-throats, until the following day, when they were liberated on the intercession of one of the great men, who had the good fortune not to be himself inculpated. The people did not seem to consider this as anything extraordinary. The old governor of Bassein, and the chief of the guard of swordsmen (a very high officer), when they called upon the English mission after the affair, spoke freely upon it, laughed very heartily at the mishap of the ministers, and appeared to consider the punishment as very proper, necessary, and useful!

Our envoy's presentation to this passionate sovereign was a very long affair, in the course of which every possible effort was made, and numerous little tricks played, by the ministers and courtiers, to induce the Englishmen to prostrate themselves in the native fashion. Passing over the procession and the disputes about carrying umbrellas, which are somewhat tedious, we will bring our mission within the palace enclosures. Here, under a shed in one of the court-yards, they were kept waiting for the space of two hours and a half, for the purpose of allowing the Burman princes and grandees to pass, and with the hope of dazzling them with a spectacle of so much splendour. All these personages were attended by very numerous retinues; they were seated in canopied litters, open at the sides, and their elephants and led-horses followed them. The retainers of the queen's brother amounted at least to 400 men, and those of the Prince of Sarawaddi, the king's only full brother, were still more numerous. This very great prince had ten gold umbrellas, and the queen's brother, ranking next to him, eight gold umbrellas. There was no end to umbrellas. The palace being then quite new, with its gilding untarnished, looked very gay and brilliant. The throne was at one end of a spacious and well-proportioned hall. The king made his appearance in about ten minutes after the entrance of the mission. His approach was announced by a crash of music. Then a sliding-door behind the throne was suddenly opened with a quick and sharp noise. His majesty mounted a flight of steps which led to the throne from behind, apparently moving with much difficulty, as if tottering under the weight of his dress and ornaments. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, thickly spread with jewels. The crown was a helmet with a high peak, in form resembling the spire of a Burman pagoda. It was said to be all of pure massive gold, and it had all the appearance of being richly studded with rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his majesty held a white tail of the Thibet cow, to serve as a flapper. Having frequently waved this cow-tail to and fro, brushed himself and the throne, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. At this solemn point the Burman courtiers prostrated themselves, and went through the ko-too, and the English gentlemen took off their hats, and raised their right hand to their foreheads as an additional mark of respect. The queen presented herself very shortly after his majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and quite as rich as that of the king. Her crown of gold, like his, was studded with precious gems; but it differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. A little princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The queen was received by the courtiers with the same prostration as her husband. When their majesties were seated, the whole scene had very much the air and character of a melodramatic representation on the stage. A band of Brahmins, the astrologers and soothsayers of the court, chanted a short hymn. This over, a paper was read aloud, containing a list of offerings recently made by his majesty to certain pagodas in the city. Then followed the presentation of offerings to the king, made by the princes of the royal family, the tributary princes of Lao, the grandees and the merchants, or, as they are called, the rich men, each class in the order of its rank. The gifts sent by the Governor-general of India were presented last of all. At each presentation, address was made. That of the Prince of Sarawaddi ran thus:—"Most excellent, glorious, sovereign of land and sea, lord of the celestial elephant, lord of all white elephants, master of the supernatural weapon, sovereign controller of the present state of existence, great king of righteousness, object of worship! On this excellent, propitious occasion, your majesty's servant, the Prince of Sarawaddi, under the excellent golden foot, makes an obeisance of submission, and tenders offerings of expiation; namely, a golden pyramid, a silver pyramid, golden flowers, silver flowers, a golden cup, a silver cup, some fine cloths," &c. &c.

When the Governor-general's presents were placed before the throne, the address was exactly in the same language, with the exception that for the words "your majesty's servant" they substituted "the English ruler of India."

His majesty did not address our envoy in person, but one of his ministers read from a book the following questions, as if coming from the king:—"Are the queen and king of England, their sons and daughters, and all the nobility, well?" "Have the seasons been favourable?" "How long have you been in coming from India to this place?" After this, betel, tobacco, and Burman tea (not very good) were handed to the Englishmen, who were told that this was a mark of extraordinary attention and honour. His majesty proceeded to confer a few titles upon men who were in his service, and at that moment in his favour, and these titles were loudly proclaimed by heralds throughout the hall. The king continued on his throne about three-quarters of an hour, and then retired. As he was about to leave the hall he directed some very paltry presents to be made to the gentlemen of the mission. When he and the queen rose all the courtiers fell flat on their faces, and the Englishmen, after bowing, put on their hats, to signify that the compliment of uncovering was intended only for their majesties. Both king and queen were very uneasy and uncomfortable all the time they were on the throne, frequently putting up their hands to adjust their heavy crowns, or to relieve their heads from the weight which seemed to oppress them. The princes and public officers were all habited in their state dresses, which consisted of purple velvet cloaks, with highly-ornamented caps of the same material. Each had his chain of nobility over his shoulders, and his title blazoned on a thin plate of gold affixed to the front of the cap. The dress of the Prince of Sarawaddi was particularly brilliant. The barbaric magnificence, alloyed by many circumstances, did not make much impression on our countrymen. Mr. Crawfurd thought that they did the thing much better in Siam.

His majesty was at that time about forty-three years old, of short stature, but of active frame. He was, indeed, partial to active sports, far beyond what is usual with Asiatic sovereigns. He made frequent water-excursions, he rode on horseback and on elephants, and occasionally went elephant-hunting. But to get rid of his superfluous activity he had another sport, which he preferred to all the rest. This was riding on a man's shoulders, as our school-boys may sometimes be seen mounted. It was not he who introduced this mode of equitation, for it had often been practised by full-grown princes of the blood long before his time. His distinction was the exceedingly great love he had for that style of riding. Although no saddle was used, a strip of muslin was put into the mouth of the honoured biped, to serve as bit and bridle. Before the war with the English the favourite man-horse was a fellow of great bulk and strength, with shoulders so broad and fleshy as to make his majesty's seat uncommonly comfortable. For his services the man enjoyed an assignment of land and a sonorous title. In fact, in more than one sense the man-horse was one of the greatest men about court. But our war brought him down with a run He had a brother living down the Irrawaddi on our line of march, and on the approach of our troops this brother quietly submitted to British authority. So soon as the fact was known at court, the brawny favourite was deprived of his lands, degraded from his rank, and put into irons.

As the Englishmen descended into the court before the palace, they saw other preparations for an exhibition and entertainments. The centre of the court was filled with dancing-women, buffoons, tumblers, puppet-shows, state elephants, led-horses, state palanquins, &c. The tumblers were agile and expert; they were chiefly disguised as monkeys, and they amused the company by ludicrous gestures, scrambling up poles, letting themselves drop from them, and similar feats. Our travellers' attention was chiefly attracted by the celebrated white elephant, which occupied a place of honour. Notwithstanding his titles, this was the only white elephant in possession of the King of Ava, and it was rather cream-coloured than strictly white. It had been taken in the year 1806, when an innocent suckling, in the forests of Pegu, and was the only white elephant which had been captured in the Burman dominions for many years. Several of a light tint had, however, been taken of late years. The Burmans seemed to consider the white elephant rather as an indispensable part of the regalia than as an object of worship. Both the court and people would consider it particularly inauspicious to be without a white elephant. Their Buddhism, weak and loose in every other particular, is weak also in this. While our party were at Ava, a report was brought that a white elephant had been seen in the country; but it was stated, at the same time, that its capture and transport on a sledge over the cultivated ground would cause the destruction of 10,000 baskets of rice. His majesty is said to have exclaimed,—"What signifies the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice, in comparison with the possession of another white elephant?" and the order was given for the hunt, which appears to have been unsuccessful.

Our mission was attended from the palace to the river by constables with long rods in their hands. The nature and history of the office of these policemen form one of the ugliest features of the Burman government. They are denominated *Pak-wet*, which means "the cheek branded with a circle." They are, in fact, atrocious malefactors, pardoned in consideration of their performing for life the duties of constables, gaolers, and executioners, for all these offices are united in one person. They receive no pay or reward for their services, and must live by their wits,—that is to say, by the extortion practised upon their unfortunate prisoners. Their usual way of coining money for themselves is to torture their victims, and then sell them a respite from suffering and torment. Besides the ring branded on each cheek, these precious guardians of the peace are to be seen with such epithets as the following tattooed upon their breasts,—"Man-killer," "Robber," "Thief," &c. The chief of these persons was recognised by Mr. Judson, the American missionary, who had but too many reasons to remember him; for during the late war he had had charge of the European and American prisoners at Ava, and had treated them all with execrable barbarity. He was a gaunt, lean old man, with a most villainous countenance. His original crime had been murdering his master, and the title of murderer was tattooed in very large letters on his breast.

The military display made by the Burmans on this grand occasion was altogether contemptible. The soldiers, without uniform, and, indeed, almost naked, sat on the ground, having the stock of the muskets on the ground and the muzzle a little raised from it, and supported by two cross-sticks. The men appeared no better than so many day-labourers, taken haphazard from the common bazaar; they were of all sizes and all ages. It struck our travellers that the Siamese soldiers, bad as they were, and grotesque as was their uniform, were better armed and accoutred, and in every other respect better; and that the troops of Cochin-China were as superior to the Burmans as they were inferior to the good-disciplined troops of Europe. There could be no military pride or point of honour among such men. Even many of the officers boasted to the English how clever they had been in skulking, or in running away from every engagement.

The gentlemen of the mission were presented, on different days, to the heir-apparent, to the Prince of Sarawaddi, and to her majesty the queen, who was holding what we call a drawing-room. A great number of state palanquins conveyed the ladies of the grandees to the palace. These dames were all in dresses of ceremony, or court-dresses, the most remarkable part of which was a kind of coronet of gold and black velvet. Everything was quite public and open. The ladies wore no veils, and, in short, no attempt was made at any sort of concealment; a circumstance in the manners of the Burmans which distinguishes them in a remarkable degree from the nations of Western Asia, but in which they agree with the Siamese, and, in a good measure, with the Cochin-Chinese also. It is, however, much doubted whether the Burman ladies gain much by this freedom and exemption from face-muffling; and it is, indeed, strongly suspected that, upon the whole, the sex is treated with less delicacy and consideration than in Hindu and Mahommedan countries, where the most absolute exclusion is insisted upon. Her majesty sprang from the very lowest or poorest order of Burman society—from a family of fishermen and fish-venders. Her aunt, now a very great lady, had carried the fish-basket upon her head; and her majesty's brother, who was now by far the most powerful man at court, and styled the Great Prince, had sold fish.

One of the great amusements of the court was what they called "the taming of the elephant." On the banks of the Irrawaddi there was a square enclosure, surrounded by a double palisade, composed of immense beams of teak. Between the two palisades there is a stone wall, about fourteen feet high and twenty feet thick. On the broad top of this wall the spectators are seated to view the sport. This is styled the Elephant Palace, and was much frequented by his majesty. At the show witnessed by our countrymen, a great cloud of dust announced the approach of about twenty elephants, which, with the single exception of the captive that was to be tamed, were all females. A very docile female elephant led the way into the enclosure, guided by her keeper. Partly by persuasion, and partly by force, the other females drove before them a small male elephant, only thirteen years old. It required at least half an hour to induce the youngster to enter the gate of the enclosure; twice he had run off to the distance of a quarter of a mile, but had again been brought back by the strong and cunning old females. When the captive was fairly upon the arena, the old lady elephants withdrew from the enclosure, marching very gravely, one by one. Then the biped elephant-catchers, who are described as a distinct class of men (they are probably natives of Lao), went into the square unarmed, and provoked the wild elephant to pursue them, which he did with great fury. When too closely pursued, the men took shelter within the palisade (much as the *chulos* do in a Spanish bull-fight), through the interstices or openings of which the young elephant lashed his trunk in vain. The elephant-catchers exhibited a good deal of boldness and agility, but it was thought that they ran very little risk. One of their number had, however, been killed quite recently: his foot slipped, he fell, and was instantly despatched by the infuriated animal. After the men had retired, some goats were put into the square; and these were pursued by the elephant in the same way as the bipeds, and with as little effect. The goats eluded his pursuit with the utmost ease, and were so little concerned at his presence, that they soon began to quarrel among themselves and to butt at one another. When the elephant was sufficiently tired by his exertions and exhausted by his rage, three huge tame elephants were brought in to secure him, each mounted by his keeper, who had in his hand a rope with a noose. One of these keepers threw his noose round the foreleg of the youngster, who appeared to be quite subdued by the presence of his powerful brethren. He made little resistance, and was driven into a pen at one side of the enclosure. Soon afterwards he was removed from the pen and tied to a post by a rope put round his neck, through his mouth, and round his tusks. He looked very restless and sullen, but he was so closely tied that he could scarcely move, and had no power to do any mischief. The keepers said that the male elephants, when thus treated and secured, refuse food for about five days. It takes six or seven months to tame them effectually, and occasionally as much as a whole year, their tempers being very various.

After this sport in the Palace of Elephants, there was an exhibition of boxing. The Burmans display considerable strength and agility, but the best of them would have stood a poor chance with a fourth-rate English boxer. These native pugilists were stripped naked, with the exception of a piece of red cloth tied round their waist. They went into the ring, using provoking language and gestures. There appear to have been no feint attacks, no parries, no pretty long-arm play; they closed almost immediately, and wrestled, using hands, feet, and knees with considerable adroitness. The fight consisted of three rounds, unless decided sooner by some obvious advantage on one side. An umpire sat in the ring, and decided who was to be considered the victor. The loss of a single drop of blood was the loss of the battle. Five-and-twenty or thirty matches were fought, and they were all, as was evidently intended, very bloodless combats. Whenever there appeared the least risk of mischief being done from the irritation of the combatants, they were parted by the umpire and his assistants. Notwithstanding the strong partiality of the Burman to these exhibitions, it was thought that one of our English prize-fights would have horrified and terrified them out of their senses. Men who can bear, with calmness and complacency, the sight of one kind of blood-shedding, will turn sick at another. We have seen a Spaniard, and enthusiast for bull-fighting, a constant spectator of that bloody arena on which men and horses were so frequently gored and killed, turn pale at the sight of an English pugilistic encounter, and run away from it in horror and disgust.

On another day the Englishmen were taken to see the sport, or celebration, of weaning an elephant. The king and court attended, for his majesty is not only the lord of elephants in a metaphorical sense, but real master and owner of all the elephants in his dominions. The young males are weaned at three years old,—that is to say, they are then separated from their dams and broken in,—a process nearly as tedious and difficult as that of breaking in a full-grown elephant taken in the forest. About two-and-thirty female elephants were driven into an enclosure, and were shortly followed by four big male elephants, the riders of which carried long ropes with nooses. After many unsuccessful efforts, they caught the young elephant that was to be weaned by one of his hind legs. This was a matter of great difficulty, for he was protected by the herd of female elephants which crowded round him. When taken, he was more outrageous than the young wild elephant had been. Indeed, the suckling was so naughty and headstrong, that the big male elephants (less tender-hearted than the females) had to beat him rather frequently. Once or twice they lifted him quite off the ground with their tusks, but without doing him any material injury. The cry which he emitted differed in no way but in degree from the squeak of a hog that is in pain or fear. He was ultimately confined in a small pen, where two of the male elephants continued to keep watch over him.

The weaning was followed by elephant-fights: these took place on the river-side, upon a piece of level ground, separated in the midst by a strong teak paling, across which the animals engage each other. There were five combats, but they were very tame and dull. The elephant is not a courageous animal, nor is it pugnacious. They have but one mode of fighting,—that of butting with their foreheads, and endeavouring to wound each other with their tusks. After a few seconds, one of the combatants is sure to turn tail and run off. On the present occasion some of them would not fight at all, and refused to approach the paling, on the other side of which their antagonists stood.

At the conclusion of these combats the king prepared to take his departure, preceded by the white elephant, which is never mounted, even by his majesty. The creature which he mounted with great agility was a most noble specimen of the race; his trunk, head, and part of the neck were of a whitish flesh-colour. The king took the hook into his own hand, guided the animal himself, and seemed to be perfectly at home in this employment, and to have a good seat on the elephant's neck. The heir-apparent, a boy of thirteen, guided his own elephant in the same way. Our envoy adds:—"This practice is, I believe, peculiar to the Burmans; for, in Western India at least, no person of condition ever condescends to guide his own elephant. There is, at least, some manliness in the custom; and I should not be surprised to find that the neck of the elephant would be found, on experience, the most agreeable and easy seat to the rider."*

At that time the king was possessed of about one thousand elephants. They were divided into two classes; the first consisting principally of males, which had been thoroughly tamed and broken in, and the second of females, in a half-wild state, that are employed as decoys to entrap the elephants of the forest. They are under two very great chiefs, who take their titles from their elephantine employment.

---

* "Embassy to Ava," &c.

But the best of the courtly amusements are the boat-races. In the month of October, when the waters of the Irrawaddi begin permanently to fall, a festival is held yearly for three days: it is called the Water Festival. In 1826 both king and queen attended, as appeared to be usual. Their vessel, in the form of two huge fishes, was extremely splendid; every part of it was richly gilt, and a spire thirty feet high rose in the middle. Their majesties sat under a green canopy at the bow of the vessel, which is the place of honour, and the only part ever occupied by persons of rank. They were further distinguishable by having about them a great many white umbrellas, the appropriate marks of royalty. The king alone was in an erect position — all his courtiers were crouching or crawling round him. Near the king's barge were many fine boats, called "gold boats;" and the banks of the river were lined with the boats of the grandees, all decked with gay banners, and each having a band of music, and also some dancers or posture-makers, who exhibited occasionally on benches. Nine gilt war-boats rode and manœuvred for prizes. The Burmans nowhere appear to so much advantage as in their boats. Many of these are extremely neat; and their rowers are generally expert, cheerful, and animated, marking the time with songs and airs. On the present occasion the burden of their song was, "The Golden Glory shines forth like the round sun; the royal kingdom, the country, and its affairs, are in the most pleasant state." The king and queen's boats were next put in motion; they were gilded all over, the very oars or paddles not excepted. According to the Burmans, there are thirty-seven motions of the paddle. The king and queen's boats went through many of them with grace and dexterity, and afforded much amusement and gratification to our countrymen. On the next day numerous matches came off, the boats racing two-and-two at a time, and no greater number ever starting. The prizes consisted of money and dresses, and, for the poorer people, of rice. The boats ran with the stream for the distance of two miles, the winning post being a vessel anchored in the river opposite to the king's state barge. They were all propelled by paddles, each boat having forty or more paddles. Their speed was very great, and even thought to exceed that of our fast London wherries. The matches appear to excite great emulation in the parties immediately engaged, and much interest in the spectators, composed almost entirely of persons about the court and their retainers. The king, hearing that the Englishmen had been gratified at the evolutions of his gilt boats, sent thirteen war and three state boats to manœuvre before them; and he was himself so much pleased at the pleasure expressed at this sight, that he sent them a double allowance of eatables and drinkables,—"the Burmans appearing to mark their favour to their guests, like the Greeks of Homer, by the quantity of food they set before them." But some of the messes could not have been very palateable to Englishmen. One consisted of the large-leafed, coarse Burman tea, treated as a salad, and dressed with sesamum-oil and garlic. On the third day of the Water Festival there was nothing new except the procession, by which it was closed.

"A little before sunset the king and queen, with their infant daughter and the heir-apparent, stepped into their state-boats, surrounded by a number of gilt war-boats, upon the signal of three cannon being discharged: they were accompanied by between fifty and sixty boats of the principal nobility. The procession rowed up the river and back again in a circle three times, when the king and queen returned to their barge, and three discharges of cannon proclaimed that the festival was concluded. The procession passed within one hundred yards of us, and we had a very good view of it. The Atwen-wun and other chiefs, who were on board with us at the time, threw themselves on their knees as the king passed, raising their joined hands, as if in the attitude of devotion The Burmese understand the arrangement of such pageants as that which we had now witnessed extremely well. The moment chosen was the most favourable for effect. The setting sun shone brilliantly upon a profusion of "barbaric gold," and the pageant was altogether the most splendid and imposing which I had ever seen, and not unworthy of Eastern romance."

The common people appeared to take but little interest in these festivals of the rich and great; they did not assemble in any considerable numbers, and they looked on with a vacant air. They, however, get up boxing and wrestling-matches of their own. The challenge is given by stepping into the centre of an open space, and slapping the left shoulder with the right hand. The challenge of the Turkish wrestlers is just the same, and in both cases it is probably derived from a common Tartar origin. But the Burmans use taunting language, as if to excite their adversaries, which the Turks never do. The struggle never lasts long; and when over, no animosity is observed between the parties. Indeed, the common people, when left to themselves, appear to be rather good-tempered than otherwise. They play the same game of foot-shuttlecock as their neighbours; but their *volant* appears to be different, and much larger. It is described as a hollow ball, made of wicker-work. As they play it, the game consists in striking the ball upwards with the foot, or with any part of the leg below the knee. Some of them are so skilful, that the ball is kept up and in constant motion for a long time. This widely-diffused sport ends on the western frontier of the Burman empire, being altogether unknown in Hindustan. It is said to be as much practised by the Japanese as it is among the Indu-Chinese nations. All the poorer classes of Burmans seem to be very fond of a rude music, and of a slow-measured national dance. They also have their dramatic entertainments, which take place at night. Their primitive theatre is usually a green sward, spread over with a few carpets or mats, and lighted by torches dipped in petroleum, which give a brilliant flare, accompanied by a very unpleasant pungent odour. That great universality, Punch, who may be traced through all parts of Asia, is not a stranger to them. All the people dwelling near the great rivers are bold, expert swimmers: indeed, they appear to be almost amphibious. Like the Chinese and the intervening nations, they are much addicted to betting and gambling. They play a game of draughts upon a piece of chequered cloth instead of a board, and also at a ruder kind of chess. They smoke to excess; but the poorer of them cannot often afford the expense of the opium-pipe. They were invariably found to be exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors. Besides their own ardent rice-brandy, they would drink and relish anything that came in their way, provided only it was strong. For any little service they rendered our troops, the most acceptable present that could be made to them was gin, which they called "English water," or brandy. If allowed, they would always drink of these to excess. They generally accosted an officer by saying, "O prince, give us brandy!"

The poor women are about as free and as hard-working as their equals in Siam and Anam. They are not secluded, their forms and faces are not concealed, and they may run about by themselves; but they are regarded by the men as inferior beings. A husband will not allow his wife to eat at the same table with him; and if walking or travelling she must be careful to keep behind, and at a respectful distance from her lord and master. She must go to the river several times a day to draw water; she beats the rice from the husk; she works at the loom to make cloth for the dresses that are worn; she cuts and sews the clothes for her husband and children, as well as for herself; and she takes her turn in the labours of the field. The women, in short, are never idle, and yet they are described, notwithstanding this drudgery, as being generally lively, intelligent, and good-humoured. They pay considerable attention to the adornment of their persons. Their hair is tied in a bunch at the back of the head; and as a quantity of it is considered a great beauty, false tails, sometimes two or three in number, are ingeniously mixed with the real hair, so as to form a large knot, which, on holidays, is further adorned with flowers. When circumstances permit, they wear small gold bars in their ears instead of ear-rings, and small gold chains round the neck. Their few articles of dress are like those of the Siamese and Cochin-Chinese. The style is predominant in all this part of Asia, and has been so from time immemorial. The Burman women are well-framed, but not distinguished by height or delicacy of person; they are, in general, rather small and stout, fairer in complexion than most of the Hindus, but not nearly so pretty or so graceful. In order to improve their appearance, they rub the face, hands, and neck with powder of sandal-wood, and tinge their nails with red. Their practice of constantly chewing betel gives a repulsive colour to lips, mouth, and teeth. They smoke almost as much as their husbands, and are seldom met on the road without cheroots in their mouths. The most extraordinary idea the Burmans have of female beauty is this,—the inside of the elbow must be turned out as if dislocated. This is their *ne plus ultra* of elegance, and in all statues and drawings of women they are represented with the inside of their elbows out. They seem to take as much pains about this matter as the Chinese do about small feet. They begin with the girls at the earliest age. One day an English officer seeing an old woman with her arm thus distorted, examined it, and found that practice had rendered the joint so flexible, that it moved with equal facility either way. The old dame was quite proud of the degree of the forward curve she could give the arm, and appeared much flattered by the notice taken of it.

The English staff-officer, whom we have repeatedly quoted, is decidedly of opinion that Ava is much healthier than the greater part of Hindustan, and that the sun here has not the overpowering influence on the constitution of Europeans as on the other side of the Ganges. "At Prome, and during the march, we were constantly walking or riding in the sun at all hours, without umbrellas, and with the thermometer sometimes as high as 110° in a tent, and still it had not even the effect of giving headache; whereas, had we done so in India, a fever would have been the inevitable consequence." Generally the people appeared to be healthy and sturdy, but their superiority in strength and in powers of endurance are partly attributable to their free use of animal food.

Among the numerous and very different tribes and mixed races which make up the population of the Burman empire, there is, of course, a great variety in manners and customs, and even in disposition and character. The Peguins differ considerably from the proper Burmans, and between these and the Shans and the Cassays there is still greater diversity; while these two last tribes differ from one another, as also from the Karians, the Yo, the Lawā, and the Kyans.

The tribe or race last-named, calls for some slight notice even in a sketch like the present. The Kyans, who appear to be the aborigines of Ava, were scarcely known at all until the conclusion of the first English war, when one of our small columns marched safely, and with very little difficulty, from the banks of the Irrawaddi to Arracan, going through the Aeu pass, and the country now occupied by these primitive people. They inhabit solely the mountain districts, and, availing themselves of every little fertile patch of ground, they culti vate rice and grain. It should seem, however, that they attend more to cattle, hunting, and fishing, than to agriculture. They are wild and independent. Herding together in parties or clans of thirty or forty members, in the most remote and unfrequented recesses of the mountains, they ignore the Burman government, and admit of no other rule than that of their several head-men or chiefs, and the spiritual authority of a kind of priest or conjurer, called the passine. This last office is hereditary, and females may succeed to it as well as males. According to their own traditions, they held possession of all the fertile plains of Ava and Pegu, until (many, many ages ago) a horde of Tartars from the north made an irruption into their territories, killed their king, slaughtered chiefs and people, and forced the unhappy remnant of their nation to fly to the wildernesses and mountains, with such of their herds of cattle as they could collect and drive before them. With them fled some stray members or connexions of their old royal family, but in the course of time these died out, and it is said that not a trace of them is to be found in any part of the country. Left to themselves, and, of necessity, much scattered among the sterile mountains, where many could not find a living on one spot, the Kyans of each village selected from among themselves one who, either from age or experience, was deemed worthy to be their chief; and in this independent parcelled state they have since continued, each little community considering itself perfectly distinct from all the rest. Repeated efforts have been made by the Burmans to reduce these mountaineers, but without any lasting success. Their passine, or high priest, usually resides on an inaccessible rock. As writing and books are unknown to the Kyans, his doctrines, oracles, and mandates are all delivered by word of mouth. The tenets of their faith are few, simple, and rude. Of a Supreme Being they have no conception If you ask one of them who made him, he will tell you that he is the offspring of the mountains and of nature. The principal object of their adoration is a thick bushy tree bearing a small berry, by the Burmans called subri. Under its shady branches, at certain seasons of the year, they assemble with their families, and offer up sacrifices of pigs, oxen, and grain, on which they afterwards feast. All the cattle they possess accompany them during these excursions; and, probably, for prudential reasons, they never go anywhere without their herds. They put implicit faith in the supernatural properties of the aërolite, which is considered a charm against every evil. Whenever a thunder-storm occurs, they search among the trees in the hope of finding one that has been struck by lightning. Should they discover such a tree they immediately begin digging in search of this stone, which they state to be about the size of a man's hand, and to have fallen from the skies. If they are successful in this search, a hog and a bullock are instantly sacrificed, and devoured by themselves. The stone is then deposited with the passine, who preserves the precious talisman. Their notions of virtue and well-doing are gross enough. Those are the best men and women who honour their parents, take care of their children and cattle, eat most pork and beef, and drink most spirits These are sure of being well provided for hereafter, by their souls entering the bodies of pigs, cows, or oxen. The people who eat little meat and drink with stint, have a very poor chance. Here we find the doctrine of transmigration coexisting with the slaughter of animals and a ravenous use of animal food. However much the Burmans, in the course of many centuries, may have been intermixed and changed, it is evident that they preserve a good deal of this original type: for, as we have seen, they are great eaters of meat, and slayers of cattle and beasts of the forest, in spite of all their Buddhism. And, in all probability, the Kyan race had at one time a very wide range, and influenced by their aboriginal character and customs the populations of Siam and Cochin China.

When a Kyan dies, the event is hailed with all the appearance of joy. A great feast is given by the family, to which all the clan are invited, and the guests demonstrate their affection for the deceased by eating and drinking immoderately. Should the deceased be rich in pigs and oxen, his body is burned, and the ashes being collected in a basket are carried to the top of some very lofty and holy mountain, where a low shed is erected over them. People keep watch at the tomb for some time, and when they go away they leave a log of wood, which is meant to represent the figure of a man, and to deter the approach of evil spirits.

When a young man is disposed to marry he consults the passine. If the opinion or prediction of the high-priest be favourable, the bridegroom sends to the parents of the damsel a pig, an ox, some rice-brandy, a spear, a knife, and a tom-tom. A grand feast on beef and pork, with copious libations, winds up the ceremony, and the marriage is considered duly concluded. Should a man take improper liberties with the wife of another, he is bound to present to the injured husband a hog, an ox, and a spear, and to the wife a necklace. After this peace-offering no more is said or thought of the matter.

A hog, a bullock, and a dinner appear to be a sufficient palliative for any offence or crime. If a young girl is forcibly carried off, the offender must pay a bullock; and if she be the daughter of a chief, three bullocks. A divorce usually costs one bullock. In case of murder, however, the compensation must be paid in money; or, at least, in gold or silver. The price of a human life in 1826 was about 9*l*. sterling. Should the murderer be unable to pay the mulct, or to find sureties, he is kept as a slave.

In case of sickness, the patient is carried to the passine, together with plenty of pork, beef, and spirits. When the feast is concluded, the passine mutters certain incantations over the sufferer, and produces that grand specific the aërolite.

The precious metals are not found by the natives, but they procure inconsiderable quantities of good iron ore, which they send to the Burmans in exchange for silver. Wild honey, dried fish caught in the mountain torrents, and their coarsely-manufactured cloth, form their principal articles of trade; for which they receive in return, salt, silver, and such food or clothing as their own fastnesses deny them. Their rapid streams abound with delicious trout. On the banks of a river, where our column halted, were found several small platforms, about a foot and a half or two feet from the ground. They were made of bamboos, left rather apart for the free passage of heat and smoke, thus forming a simple but spacious kind of gridiron. A fire was placed underneath, which is procured by rubbing two pieces of bamboo together very rapidly; and then the fish, being previously spitted on a slip of bamboo, were laid on the frame, and soon becoming dried and cooked, they proved very delicious. The Kyans are unacquainted with the use of fire-arms, and appeared to hold those of our Sepoys in great awe. Their own weapons are the spear, the knife, and the bow. Their arrows are made of bamboo, with the point hardened in the fire; it is said that the points are poisoned with a vegetable poison, which is extremely dangerous. Some of the young female mountaineers were rather pretty; but they had the fashion of tattooing their faces with blue lines, describing segments of circles. Our officers, on their passage, saw but very few of these primitive people, whose astonishment at the sight of the white Englishmen was unbounded.*

The extensive annexations made by this war to our Indian Empire must, as we have already hinted, demand very serious consideration. It is, however, believed that, with wise and prudent management, Pegu may be put into a condition to defend herself, and to improve her well-being, agriculture, and commerce, without costing us anything, or any considerable sum beyond the first outlay in organisation. Her territory is the most fertile and the most accessible, and her population will rapidly increase, if only protected from aggression, devastating native war, and crushing oppression. We have seen how great this population once was. It is the opinion of military men now in the country, that the Peguans might be easily disciplined and formed into regiments, quite as good as most of our Sepoy corps in India. The men are as robust as the Burmans, capable of enduring great fatigue, and remarkably docile and tractable. Once disciplined and well armed, they could defend the frontiers against any or all of their neighbours. Without oppressing the people with heavy taxes, it is thought that a revenue might soon be raised quite sufficient to cover all the expenses of our civil and military government.

The annexation will afford room for the employment of many a young Englishman, who otherwise might be impelled to Australia or California. The population of all those regions which lie between China and India is susceptible of improvement, and would be eager for it if only relieved from the dead weight of corrupt, bad, and imbecile government. In fact, the people are already in possession of advantages which do not exist in Hindustan: they have no castes among them.

The following valuable remarks were made more than a quarter of a century ago, by the Rev. G. H. Hough, who had resided some time in this empire:—"There is, perhaps, no country in the world in which the sway of despotism has been less controlled by any correct feeling or sentiment, or which exhibits a stronger specimen of its injurious effects upon the physical and moral powers of mankind, than the Burman dominions. . . . The obstacles to mental and moral improvement there, however, are neither so numerous nor so formidable as those which have presented themselves in India.

---

* "Two Years in Ava."

"Caste, which has separated the Indian community into so many diversified sects, and the motto of which is, 'Taste not, handle not,' has no existence in the Burman empire. There, society is founded on a basis that would admit the existence of the most liberal institutions; there, no individual, through fear of personal defilement, is deterred from acting in every case according to those rules which secure entire freedom of intercourse between man and man. While, in many other countries, official rank, wealth, and respectability of character, create the only lines of distinction, the path of honour and influence is here equally open to all, without the least distinction. The priests have their religious peculiarities; but even these have no relation to caste."*

Our officers now serving in the country are fully aware of this advantage, and of the facilities it affords for promoting improvement among the people. Not one of these officers, however young, but had previously experienced in Bengal or in the presidency of Madras the discomforts and inconveniences which arise out of the superstitions, strict adherence to caste, and the obstacles presented by that system to the civilisation of the native populations. In fact, the absence of caste is in itself the presence of a great good. With this exemption, the Burmese are far more capable than the Hindus of being moulded into a nationality. But in this respect, China and all the Indu-Chinese nations have an advantage over the people of India, for caste does not tyrannise or exercise its anti-social influences over any of them.

---

* "Friend to India," published at Serampore, in Bengal.

INDEX.

Abacus, the Chinese, 7

Aërolites, valued as talismans by the Kyans, 506

Agriculture, its high estimation in China, 3, 33—the emperor at the plough, 118

Alchemy, a favourite study among the Burmese, 487

Almanac, preparation of the Chinese, 112

Alompra, the Burman, the founder of the present dynasty, 425—his reception of the English envoys, 426—his treachery, 428—his death, 429

Amaral, governor of Macao, assassination of, by the Chinese, 278

Amarapura, population of, 466

Ama-van, the Mantchu regent; his subjugation of China, 94—his death, 96

Amazons with the Burmese armies, 439—their fate, 440

American negociations with the Chinese, 273

Amherst's, Lord, embassy, 164—unsuccessful, 165

Amoy, reduction of, 251—English trade allowed at, 263

Anam, empire of, 287—historical sketch, 297—the French in Anam, 299, 305—intercourse with Europeans declined, 301, 312—costume, 316—government, 318—military force, 319—religion, 323—condition of women, 327—amusements, 331—war-boats, 338

Anam Proper, its provinces, 290

Ancestors, respect paid to, in China, 3

Arabs, early trade of the, with China, xx, 49

Arithmetic, Chinese system of, 7—the Burmese system, 487

Astronomical board in China, 111—instruments, 114—the Chinese almanac, 112

Ava, geography of, 412—various tribes of people, 413—zoology, 414—hunting, 415—miracles, 416—timber-trees, 417—financial system, 419—historical sketch, 420—frequent change of capital, 421, 428, 429—conquest of Pegu, 423—English factories, 424—English envoys, 426, 427, 429—the successors of Alompra, 429—their views on British India, 430—war with the English, 433—negociations, 439—peace, 442—the Burmese account of the war, 444—outrages on British subjects, 446, 448—satisfaction refused, 451—war, 459—a revolution, 465—manners and customs of the people, 480

Ava, city of, described, 476

Baker, Robert, his embassy to Alompra, 425

Bamboo, its multifarious uses in China, 26, 220—the great instrument of government, 166

Bandula, the Burmese general, 433—defeated before Rangoon, 438

Bang-kok, the capital of Siam, visit to, 375

Beauty, singular ideas of the Burmans respecting, 503

Bell, John, of Antermony, his journey to Peking, 126

Bells of Burmese temples, 470

Birds' nests. *See* Food

Birthday of Kien-long, celebration of the, 155

Black-tea country, Fokien, the, vi

Boat-races in Burmah, 500

Bogue forts, capture of the, 246—again destroyed, 268

Books burnt by order of Chi-hoang-ti, 23—his motive, *ibid.*

Botany of China, x

Boxers among the Burmese, 498

Brandy, fondness of the Burmese for, 503

Bridges, vast number of, in China, 67

Buddha, notice of, 28

Buddhism, introduction of, into China, 28—its priesthood, 29—its five great precepts, *ibid.*—patronised by the Mongol dynasty, 74—a Buddhist temple, 240—lightly held in Ava, 494

Burmah, unsuccessful attack on, by the Chinese, 140

Burman empire. *See* Ava

Burman paintings, some fine ancient, 480

Burmese, their estimate of women, 502

Burmese physicians, singular mode of paying, 487

Burney, Major, his residence at the court of Ava, 445

Burning the dead, practised by the Burmese only as regards the priesthood, 486—used for all classes in Siam, 403—Description of the ceremony, 404

Butterflies in China, their large size, xv

Cages, English captives confined in, 237

Cambodia. *See* Kamboja

Camoens' cave at Macao, 84

Campbell, Sir Archibald, conducts the war against Ava, 434—terms of the peace agreed to by him, 443

Canal system of China, v, 48, 62

Canton, described, 188—ancient Mahommedan mosque at, 49—origin of the river population of, 105—first English factory at, 123—invested by the English, and ransomed, 249—disturbances, 265, 267—vile conduct of the populace, 278

Capital, frequent change of, in Ava, 421

Carving in ivory, skill of the Chinese in, 211

Cashgar, rebellion in, 274

Caste unknown among the Indu-Chinese peoples, 509

Cat, wild, a favourite Chinese dish, xii

Chapoo, capture of, 258

Che-Keang, a maritime province of China, vi

Chi-hoang-ti, the first sole monarch of China, 20—builds the Great Wall, 21—attempts to destroy the public records, 23—his death, *ibid.*—his mode of providing for the members of the imperial family, 24

Chin dynasty, its rise, 20—the Great Wall built, 21

China proper, extent of, x—general aspect, ii—rivers, iv—animals, xi—birds, fish, insects, xii—manners and customs, 176—arts and manufactures, 205

Chinese, manners and customs of the, 176—interior of their houses, 178—festivals and theatres, 179, 191—weddings, 189—family affections, 190—joss-houses, 191—condition of women, 194—visiting, 195—costume, 197—food and cookery, 199—road-side inn, 202—sports and games, 204—arts and manufactures,

205—tea cultivation, 212—sugar, 219—want of taste, 221
Chinese coins, 7, 212
Chinese empire, extent of the, i—geography of China proper, ii—of the dependent countries, viii—islands, ix—botany, x—zoology, xi—population of the empire, xvi—the Chinese language, xvii—earliest European intercourse, xix—early history, 1—state of the people, 6—Confucius, 13—effects of his teaching, 19—the Chin dynasty, 20—the Great Wall, 21—the Han dynasty, 25—Buddhism introduced, 28—civil wars, 31—the Tsin dynasty, 32—the middle ages, 40—Tartar invasions, 41—two kingdoms, 43—the emperor Lieouyu, *ibid*—the kingdoms reunited, 44—the Tang dynasty, 45—Christian missionaries, 46—Mahommedan travellers, 51—fresh revolutions, 53—the Soong dynasty, 54—tributary to the Tartars, 56—the Mantchus and Mongols, *ibid.*—the Mongol dynasty, 58—Peking, 60—paper money, 61—death of Kublai Khan, 73—restoration of the Chinese rule, 75—the native Ming dynasty, 77—revolution, 78—Mantchu invasions, 88—the Mantchu dynasty, 74—the new form of government, 96—European embassies, 99, 100, 124, 144, 164—banishment of the Jesuits, 130—war with Burmah, 140—symptoms of decline in the empire, 158—persecution of Christians, 161—rebellions, 163—war with England, 236—peace, 263—present state of the empire, 282
Chinese government, its weakness, 162
Chinese ports, five opened to British trade, 263
Chinhae, capture of, 253—attacked in vain by the Chinese, 257
Chin-keang-foo, stormed by the English, 260—death of the Tartar general, *ibid.*
Ching-yih, a famous Chinese pirate, 162—his widow, *ibid.*
Choo, a Chinese soldier, founds the Ming dynasty, 75—takes the name of Tae-tsoo, *ibid.* *See* Tae-tsoo II.
Chou-Faa, the reigning king of Siam, a remarkable person, 409
Christian missionaries, the first, in China, 46—the Dutch, 92—the Jesuits, iii, 87—persecutions, 104, 161
Christians in China, persecution of the, 104, 161
Chusan, capture of, 240—described, 269
Cochin-China. *See* Anam
Cockroaches, used as food in China, xii
Coins of the Chinese, 7, 212
College, Russian, at Peking, 128
Confucius, his birth, 13—his studies, *ibid.*—travels, 14—becomes prime-minister, 15—is disgraced, *ibid.*—his works, 16—his death, 17—privileges of his descendants, *ibid.*—his system, *ibid.*—the Le-ke, 19—effects of his teaching, 19
Cookery, Chinese, 201
Cottages of the Chinese peasantry, 191
Cotton, cultivation of, in China, 33, 206
Court calendar of China, 87—how printed, 210
Court mourning in China, 133
Court scenes in Burmah, 489, 491
Courts, various, of the Chinese empire, 97
Crawfurd, Mr., his visit to Anam, 301—to Siam, 373
Cricket, the Chinese, its loud noise, xv

Dalhousie, Marquis of, his efforts to avert the Burmese war, 446, 448, 450, 455

Dancing-girls drive out Confucius, 15

Davis, Sir J. F., his account of China and the Chinese, iv—his visit to Turon bay, 309

Debts, payment of, how enforced in China, 192

Dependent countries. *See* Tributary states

Doctors of Reason, studies of the sect so called, 18

Dogs' flesh, passion of the Chinese for, xii

Doll, a favourite one of the King of Siam, 383

Donopew, unsuccessful attack on, 438

Dood Putlee, unsuccessful attack on the stockade of, 433

Dragon festival, the, 180

Dress of the Chinese, 197—scanty, of the Siamese, 402

Dutch intercourse with China, 91 — their missionaries in Formosa, 92—their embassy to Peking, 100, 124

East India Company, effect of the withdrawal of the China trade from the, 225

Eclipses, ceremonies in China on occasion of, 112

Education in China, its general diffusion, 9, 169—scholastic examinations, 171—degrees, 172

Elephant taming, a court amusement in Ava, 496 — elephant weaning, 498

Elephant and tiger fight at Saigun, 328

Elephants, number of, belonging to the king of Ava, 499

Elephants, white, importance attached by the Siamese to the possession of, 378

Eleuth Tartars, conquered by Kang-hy, 116

Eliot, Captain, his conduct in China, 232, 234

Empress, one only of the emperor's wives so styled in China, 154

English trade with China, its unpromising beginnings, 92, 122 — the tea-trade, 123 — Chinese exactions, 132 — first English embassy to China, 144 — its result, 156—second embassy, 164 —war, 236—present state, 263

Eunuchs, their mischievous influence in China, 31, 33 — extinction of their power, 53

European intercourse with China, the earliest, xix—revived by the Portuguese, 79

Evening schools, common in China, 170

Falconry, grand scale on which practised by the Mongol dynasty, 72

Family affection among the Chinese, 190

Feet, introduction of the custom of cramping the, in China, 51

Filial piety, exemplary punishment of breach of, in China, 193

Fireworks, fondness of the Chinese for, 181

Fishing cormorant, the, xiii

Fitch, Ralph, a London merchant, his visit to Pegu, 424

Floating population of China, its origin, 105—ingenious mode of fishing among the, *ibid.*

Fohi, the first emperor of China, 2

Fokien, a maritime province of China, vi — character of its population, *ibid.*—the black-tea country, *ibid.*

Foo-choo-foo described, 263

Food, strange articles of, among the Chinese, xii — cookery, 201

Formosa, island of, ix — settlement of the Dutch there, 91— they are expelled by Koshinga, 103 — his grandson surrenders it to the Tartars, 106 — effects of the Dutch rule, *ibid.*—present state of the inhabitants, 108 — rebellion in, 224 — murder of British subjects at, 264

Fortune, Mr., his visit to the tea-districts of China, 213
French intercourse with China, 93
Funeral processions in China, 135 — among the Burmese, 486 — their strange character, *ibid.*

Gambling, the Chinese and other eastern people much addicted to, 502
Gaudama, images of, 473, 474, 477 — vast size of some, 478
Geography of China proper, ii — of Anam, 287 — of Ava, 412 — of Siam, 343
Ginseng, where grown, viii
Glass-making in China, 211
Godwin, General, proceeds against the Burmese, 456
Grand canal of China, 62
Great wall of China described, 21
Green tea, its unwholesomeness, 216
Gunpowder first used by the Chinese only for fireworks, 111
Gutzlaff, Rev. C., extracts from his Life of Taou-kwang, 276, 277, 279

Haenan, island of, 10
Han dynasty, its rise, 25—learning patronised by the, 27 —Buddhism introduced, 28—the Taou-tse, 29—civil wars, 31
Han-lin college, foundation of the, 49
Han-ou-ti, the emperor, deceived by the Taou-tse, 30—how convinced of his error, *ibid.*
Hang-chow-fou, near Nanking, the ancient Chinese capital, 40
Heloong-keang, a province of Mantchu Tartary, viii
Hien-Fung, the present emperor of China, 281
Hoang-ty, said to have invented the mariner's compass, 4
Honan, once the Chinese capital, 44
Hong-Kong described, 234 — its worthlessness, 268
Hoty, emperor — his intercourse with foreign nations, 31
Hough, Rev. G. H., his remarks on the Burman empire, 509
Household gods of the Chinese, 191
Houses, Chinese, interior of, 178 —exterior, 187
Hué, fortress of, its masterly construction, 339
Hunting-matches in Tartary a duty of the sovereign, 72—neglected by the present rulers of China, 73
Husbandry and silk-weaving the earliest useful arts, 3

Ides, Ysbrandt, the Russian envoy, his account of Peking, 125
Imperial burying-place at Shingang, 134
Imperial canal of China, v
Imperial family, unfortunate position of the collateral branches of the, in China, 138
Ink, Indian, a Chinese invention, 27
Inn, a Chinese roadside, 202—taverns, 192
Insurrection in China, 162 — the palace at Peking attacked, 164 —fresh insurrections, 274—present aspect of affairs, 282
Invulnerables, a corps of the Burmese army so styled, 437
Irrawaddi river, delta of the, 465
Islands of China, ix

Japan, attempted invasion of, by the Mongols, 69
Jesuit missionaries, their survey of China, iii — their cautious proceedings on first arriving in the country, 87—Adam Schaal, 102—Father Verbiest, 104—persecution, *ibid.*—banished, 130
Joss-houses, what, 191 — supposed origin of the term, *ibid.*
Judson, Mr., an American missionary in Burmah, 431, 495

Kai-fong-fou, a royal residence in China, 41
Kalmuck Tartars, conquered by the emperor Kang-hy, 115
Kambalu. *See* Peking
Kamboja described, 292—Chinese colonists, 293
Kang-hy tolerates Christianity, 103—abandons the sea-coast of China to the Formosans, *ibid.*—anecdotes of his activity and love of justice, 108—his wars, 115—jubilee, 116—his "Sacred Edict," 119—his endeavours to improve the arts and sciences, 121—his mourning for his empress, 132—his death, 121
Kea-king, reign of, 159—his profligacy, 160—persecutes the Christians, 161—pirates and robbers, 162—attack on his palace, 164—Lord Amherst's embassy, 165—his death, 174—his will, 175
Kean-sy, a beautiful province of China, v
Keang-nan, a province of China, its products, v
Kia-long, king of Anam, and his French instructors, 300
Kiachta, the Russian trading station, 132
Kidnapping of English soldiers and sailors in China, 237
Kien-long, reign of, 136—recalls the Christian exiles, *ibid.*—his wars, 139—embassy from England, 144—description of his palace and gardens, 150—celebration of his birthday, 155—resigns the empire, 156—his death, 157—symptoms of decline in his empire, 158
King of Ava, his appearance and conduct, 491, 493
King of Siam, interview with, 376
Kinsai, Marco Polo's description of, 67
Kirin, a province of Mantchu Tartary, viii—ginseng found there, *ibid.*
King Ming, his death, 39
Kite-flying, a Chinese amusement, 204
Ko-konor, chiefs of, ravage Thibet, 275
Kolao, or chief-minister of China, 156
Koshinga, a noted Chinese maritime chief, 95—expels the Dutch from Formosa, 103—his death, 105
Ko-too, a mark of homage, refused by the Russian ambassadors, 99—by the British, 152—submitted to by the Dutch, 101, 124, and by the Russians under Ismayloff, 126
Kublai Khan, his rule in China, 59—makes Kambalu or Peking his seat of government, 60—invents paper money, 61—his court visited by the Poli, 63—celebration of his birthday, 69—his death, 73—his successors, *ibid.*
Kyans, the aborigines of Ava, 504—their manners and customs, 505

Ladies reduced to poverty in China, their deplorable condition, 52
Lama, Grand, or Buddhist pontiff, 140, 275
Land-tax, its amount in China, 207
Language, the Chinese, its peculiarities, xvii
Lanterns, feast of, 179—its reputed origin, *ibid.*
Lao, country of the, 348
Laou Keun, founder of a philosophic sect in China, 18
Learning, patronage of, by the Han dynasty, 27
Legends, specimens of Siamese, 396
Le-ke, or Book of Rites of Confucius, 18, 19
Lent, its character among the Siamese, 396

Lester, Ensign, his embassy to Alompra, 427

Lieouyu, the emperor, his early career, 42

Li Kong, his rebellion and cruelties, 89—gains possession of Peking, 90—is expelled, *ibid.*

Lin, Commissioner, his violent proceedings, 231—war commenced, 236—his atrocious conduct on the frontiers, 275—his death, 276

Literati, their great influence in China, 27—their power destroyed by the successors of Kublai Khan, 78—restored by Tae-tsoo II. *ibid.*—the only noblesse, 173

Literature among the Burmese, 488

Liu-pang, the founder of the Han dynasty, 24

Lolos, a people between China and Ava, ix

Loo, the king of, his ungrateful treatment of Confucius, 15

Ly-yuen, founder of the Tang dynasty, 45

Macao, description of, 84, 233—murder of the Portuguese governor, 278

Macartney, Lord, embassy of, 143—its results, 156

Maimatschin, Chinese trading station of, 132

Mandarin, origin of the name, 191—bad conduct of the generality, 174

Man-horse of the king of Ava, 493

Mantchu Tartary, its divisions, viii—its people invade China, 56—are driven out, 57

Marco Polo. *See* Polo

Mariner's compass, said to be invented by Hoang-ty, 4

Marriage customs of the Chinese, 35

Marsden's remarkable edition of Marco Polo, 65

Martaban, river, the, 344

Martaban, siege of, 423—capture of, by the English, 441—again captured, 459

Meaou-tse, an independent race of mountaineers, vi—Kien-long's attempt to subdue them, 142—their revolt against Taou-kwang, 223

Meingoon, magnificent ruins and sculptures at, 477

Menam river, the, 343

Middle ages in China, events of the, 40

Ming dynasty, rise of the, 75—its extinction, 90—the last prince finds a refuge in Pegu, 96

Mohammedan travellers, early, in China, 51

Mongol dynasty, its rise, 58—Kublai Khan's wise rule, 60—his successors, 74

Mongol Tartary, its situation, viii—its inhabitants, ix—called to the assistance of the Chinese against the Mantchus, 56—defeat of both parties, *ibid.*—expelled, 75—coerced by Kanghy, 121

Monkeys, white, in Siam, 379

Mougden, a province of Mantchu Tartary, viii—the emperors buried there, *ibid.*

Mulberry plantations in China, 12, 208

Nails, long, wearing of, an Eastern practice, 403

Names, several given to each individual in China, 36

Nanking, the capital of the Ming dynasty, 77—the English before, 261—treaty of peace concluded at, 263—the porcelain tower of, 261

Napier, Lord, his missions to China, and death, 227

Native jurisdictions, what, in China, ix

Negrais, a factory at, conceded to the English by Alompra, 428—destroyed by him, *ibid.*

New-year's festival in China, 191
Ningpo occupied by the English, 225—attempt on, by the Chinese, 257—Portuguese colony at, 80—English trade allowed at, 263
Nomadic habit ascribed to the Burmese, 421, 481
Nuns, or thi-lashen, among the Buddhists, 485

Opium-trade with China, its amount, 226—prohibition, 227—opium seized by the Chinese, 232—doubts as to its destruction, 233—trade with Siam, 386
Ou-ti, emperor, revives the festival in honour of agriculture, 33

Pagahm-Miou, numerous pagadas at, 477—the Shoezeegoon at, 479
Pali language, some knowledge of very general in Siam, 399
Paper, invention of, 26—its improvement by the Tartars and the Arabs, 27
Paper money, invented by Kublai Khan, 61
Parasols, early use of, both by Chinese and Tartars, 41
Passine, or high-priest of the Kyans, his power, 505
Pegu, conquest of, by the Burmans, 423—the Peguans in turn conquerors, 425—proposed annexation of, 508
Pegu, city of, described, 471—its capture, 464
Peguans, their hatred of the Burmese, 464
Peking, or Kambalu, made the seat of empire by Kublai Khan, 60—description, 61, 71, 185—Russian college at, 128—attack on the palace, 164
Perestrello, a Portuguese, his visit to the Canton river, 79
Perez, his fruitless embassy to Peking, 83
Pe-yen, a Mongol chief, mentioned by Marco Polo, 57
Phaulcon, Constantine, his eventful history, 363
Pheasant, beauty of the Chinese, xiii
Pinto, Fernam Mendez, an early Portuguese adventurer, 80—his conduct at Martaban, 421
Poli, the brothers, their intercourse with Kublai Khan, 63, 66
Police, the Burman, their villainous character, 495
Police regulations in China, 68
Polo, Marco, his travels in China, 65, 66
Population of China, official estimate of, xvi
Porcelain, manufacture of, 47, 55, 208
Portuguese, the first Europeans who traded with China by sea, 79—their colony at Ning-po, 80—at Macao, 83
Pottinger, Sir Henry, takes the direction of affairs in China, 250—concludes a peace at Nanking, 263
Poultry from Anam or Cochin-China, 296
Pri or Prome, formerly the Burman capital, 420—its capture by the English, 438—its capture in the present war, 464—its advantageous situation, 475
Priesthood, the, highly esteemed in Siam, 395—every man enters it for a short time, 390, 399, 485—less regarded in Ava, 485
Primogeniture, law of, in China, 36
Printing, Chinese method of, 53, 210
Proclamation of the people's duties in Ava, 485—in China, 193
Punishments in China, 168—often extended to the families of the offenders, 169

Quails taught to fight among the Chinese, xiii
Queen, a sovereign, in China, 53
Queen of Ava, her low origin, 496
Queens, or inferior wives of the

emperor of China, 154 — how disposed of after his death, *ibid.*

Rangoon, capture of, 433 — mortality among the English troops, 435 — English squadron sent to, 448 — the foreign residents seek refuge on board, 453 — shots exchanged with the stockades, 455 — capture of the town, 463 — its situation and population, 466 — an asylum for insolvents, 467
Red Book, or Court Calendar of China, 87
Rejoicing at a death among the Kyans, 506
Religious reformers in Ava, 482
Rice, cultivation of, in China, iii, 206
River-houses of the Siamese, 354
Rivers, the principal, of China, iv — of Ava, 465 — of Siam, 343
Roman intercourse with China, xix
Roman Catholic priests in Siam, 406
"Royal marines" of his Siamese majesty, 408
Russian embassy to China, 99 — cause of its failure, *ibid.* — war, 115 — peace concluded, *ibid.* — trade with China settled, *ibid.* — Ysbrandt Ides, 125 — college at Peking, 128

Sackcloth a sign of mourning in China, 133
Salic law of the Tsin dynasty, 33
Sarawaddi, Prince of (called also Tharawaddi), brother to the King of Ava, 432
Scene in a Siamese temple, 394
Schaal, Adam, a German Jesuit, his first influence in China, 102 — his death, 104
Schools in China, 9, 169
Sen, governor of Canton, his conduct towards the foreign merchants, 278
Sepoys, their dislike to sea voyages, 457
Shang-hae, a place for English trade, 263 — described, 264
Shans, a people in the Burman army, 439 — terrible slaughter made among them, 440
Shapuree, capture of, by the Burmese, 433
Shaving the head compulsory in China, 96 — practised in Siam, 402
Shin-noong, the Divine husbandman, 3
Shinyang, imperial burying-place at, 134
Ship-building, facilities for, at Rangoon, 467
Shoes not allowed to be worn within the precincts of the Siamese palace, 378
Shoezeegoon temple at Pagahm-Miou, its beauty, 479
Shoodagon, or great temple at Rangoon, described, 469 — Burmese attack on the, 437 — captured by the English, 463
Shoomadoo temple at Pegu, described, 471
Shun, an early emperor of China, 5
Shun-che, the first Mantchu emperor, 94 — interview of the Dutch embassy with him, 102 — his death, 103
Shunty, the last Mongol emperor of China, 74
Shuttlecock playing, with the feet, 204
Siamese empire, geography of the, 343 — tributary states, 349 — Chinese settlers, *ibid* — animals, 353 — birds and fish, 355 — teak forests, 356 — other products, 357 — history, 360 — war with the Burmans, 369 — revolutions, 372 — English missions, 373 — audience at court, 376 — delays, 383 — temples, 392 — legends, 390 — language, 399 — funeral rites, 403 — toleration of Christianity, 406 — dockyards, 407 — army and navy, *ibid.* — present state of affairs, 411

Silk formerly the general dress in China, 11—superseded by cotton, 33
Silk-weaving, general practice of, in China, 11
Silk-worms brought to Europe, 44
Smoking, date of its introduction to China, 196
Soong dynasty, its rise, 54—becomes tributary to the Tartars, 56—tragic end of the race, 59
Soong-tajin, his firm remonstrance against the profligacy of Kea-king, 160
"Sorrows of Han," subject of the play so called, 25
Spanish missionaries, their reception in China, 86
Spanish trade with China, 85
Spiders in China, their large size, xiv
Spies, Burmese, 489—clever detection of one, 490
Stockades, the Burmese mode of fortification, 435
Suicide, frequency of, among the Chinese and Tartars, 254
Sy-fan, independent Tartar tribes, ix
Sy-hoo, lake of, vi
Sylhet, invasion of, by the Burmese, 433
Symes, Colonel, his embassy to Ava, 430

Tae-tsoo chosen emperor, 54—his wise government, *ibid.*
Tae-tsoo II. founder of the Ming dynasty, 77—makes Nanking his capital, *ibid.*—restores the influence of the literati, 78—his death, *ibid.*
Tae-tsoong, the model emperor, 45
Tai, or "free," a title assumed by the Siamese, 401
Talapoins, or Buddhist priests, their number in Siam, 375, 380—in Ava, 385—their mode of life and teaching, 389, 395
Tallow-tree, the, 220
Tamerlane. *See* Timon
Tang dynasty, the, 45—its extinction, 53
Taou Kwang, accession of, 222—revolt in Cashgar and among the Meaou-tse, 223—quarrel with England, 225—his conduct after the war, 271—tolerates Christianity, 272—his death, 281
Taou-tse, a philosophic sect in China, 18—their favour under Han-ou-ti, 30
Tartars, the Mantchu, their irruptions in China, 21—the Great Wall built to restrain them, 22—Chinese princesses given in marriage to their chiefs, 25—a province of China granted to them, 54—their rapid advance, 56—the Mongols employed against them by the Chinese, *ibid.*—expelled, 57—achieve the conquest of China, 90, 95
Taverns, Chinese, 192
Tea, its early use in China, 55—trade in, 123—cultivation, 212—tea-farms, 215—process of manufactures, 216—bad qualities of green tea, 216—Chinese method of making tea, 218
Teak forests of Pegu, their value for ship-building, 467
Temples, the Burmese, generally inferior to the Siamese, 484
Tevatat, Siamese legend of, 361
Tharawaddi. *See* Sarawaddi, prince of
Theatres among the Chinese, 179
Thibet, conquest of, by Kien-long, 140—ravaged by the chiefs of Ko-konor, 274
Thi-lashen. *See* Nuns
Three Kingdoms, war of the, a celebrated era in Chinese history, 31
Tien-ming, the Mantchu, obtains possession of China, 90—his death, *ibid.*
Timour threatens the invasion of China, 79—his death, *ibid.*

Tonquin, its mineral riches, 295—European intercourse with, 303
Tower of the thundering winds at Hang-chow-foo, 222
Trade, early freedom of, in China, 8—European trades, 79, 85, 91
Triad Society, its objects, 161, 223
Tributary states to China, viii—European states included by the Chinese, *ibid.*
Tse, king of, his measures against Confucius, 15
Tsin dynasty, the, 32—luxury of the court, 42—the state divided into two kingdoms, 43
Turon bay, 289—visited by European vessels, 300—Anamese fleet destroyed by the French in, 309—English attempt to open intercourse, 310

Ummerapoora. *See* Amarapura.

Verbiest, Father, his favour with Kang-hy, 104—reforms the Chinese calendar, 111—casts cannon for the emperor, *ibid.*
Viceroys in China, their great power, 166

Wanlie, his court calendar, 87—his reign disturbed by Mantchu invasions, 88
Water festival, the, in Burmah, 500
Wats, or temples, in Siam, 392
Weaning an elephant, a Burmese sport, 498
Wedding expenses, how sometimes raised in China, 189
Whey-tsong, the last Chinese emperor, 88—his death, 89
White, the colour of mourning in China, 133—also in Siam, 402
White elephants, honours paid to, in Siam, 378—some partially white, 380—also esteemed in Ava, 496—other white animals in Siam, 379
Wine, Chinese, 202—method of taking, *ibid.*
Wives, purchase of, in China, 194
Women, low estimate of, by Confucius, 19—small feet, 51—purchase of wives, 194—hard manual labour imposed on, 195—costume, 197—their condition in Ava, 496, 503—in Anam, 427—in Siam, 387
Woosankwie opposes the usurper Li Kong, 89—his father put to death, 90—dethrones the usurper by the aid of the Mantchus, *ibid.*—his rewards, 91

Yandaboo, treaty of, 442
Yang-tse-kiang, its rise and course, iv—the English fleet enters the, 259
Yaou the Great, his eminent services, 5
Yellow, the imperial colour in China, 24—the priestly colour among the Buddhists, 395
Yellow caps, revolt of the, 31
Yellow girdle, its significance in China, 24
Yellow River, its rise and course, iv
Yoong-lo obtains the throne after the death of Tae-tsoo II. 78—removes the capital to Peking, 79
Yoong-t-ching, reign of, 129—banishes the Jesuits, 130—famine, 131—his laws, 132—his death, 133
Yu the Great, the first real character in Chinese history, 2
Yuen, a Chinese dramatic writer, 25
Yun-nan, a mountainous province of China, ii, vii
Yuthia, the ancient capital of Siam, 343—captured by the Burmans, 371

Zhehol, palace and gardens of, 150
Zoology of China, xi.

LONDON:
Printed by G. Barclay, Castle St. Leicester Sq.

Longfellow's Poetical Works, complete, including The Wayside Inn. *Twenty-four page Engravings, by Birket Foster and others, and a new Portrait.*

——— ; or, without the illustrations, 3s. 6d.

——— **Prose Works,** complete. *Sixteen page Engravings by Birket Foster and others.*

Loudon's (Mrs.) Entertaining Naturalist. New Edition. Revised by W. S. Dallas, F.L.S. *With nearly* 500 *Engravings.* 7s.

Marryat's Masterman Ready; or, The Wreck of the Pacific. 93 *Engravings.*

——— **Mission;** or, Scenes in Africa. (Written for Young People.) *Illustrated by Gilbert and Dalziel.*

——— **Pirate; and Three Cutters.** New Edition, with a Memoir of the Author. *With* 20 *Steel Engravings, from Drawings by Clarkson Stanfield, R.A.*

——— **Privateer's-Man One Hundred Years Ago.** *Eight Engravings on Steel, after Stothard.*

——— **Settlers in Canada.** New Edition. *Ten fine Engravings by Gilbert and Dalziel.*

Maxwell's Victories of Wellington and the British Armies. *Illustrations on Steel.*

Michael Angelo and Raphael, their Lives and Works. By Duppa and Quatremere de Quincy. *With* 13 *highly-finished Engravings on Steel.*

Miller's History of the Anglo-Saxons. Written in a popular style, on the basis of Sharon Turner. *Portrait of Alfred, Map of Saxon Britain, and* 12 *elaborate Engravings on Steel.*

Milton's Poetical Works. With a Memoir by James Montgomery, Todd's Verbal Index to all the Poems, and Explanatory Notes. *With* 120 *Engravings by Thompson and others, from Drawings by W. Harvey.* 2 vols.

Vol. 1. Paradise Lost, complete, with Memoir, Notes, and Index.

Vol. 2. Paradise Regained, and other Poems, with Verbal Index to all the Poems.

Mudie's British Birds. Revised by W. C. L. Martin. *Fifty-two Figures and* 7 *Plates of Eggs.* In 2 vols.

——— ; or, *with the plates coloured,* 7s. 6d. per vol.

Naval and Military Heroes of Great Britain; or, Calendar of Victory. Being a Record of British Valour and Conquest by Sea and Land, on every day in the year, from the time of William the Conqueror to the Battle of Inkermann. By Major Johns, R.M., and Lieutenant P. H. Nicolas, R.M. *Twenty-four Portraits.* 6s.

Nicolini's History of the Jesuits: their Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Designs. *Fine Portraits of Loyola, Lainès, Xavier, Borgia, Acquaviva, Père la Chaise, and Pope Ganganelli.*

Norway and its Scenery. Comprising Price's Journal, with large Additions, and a Road-Book. Edited by T. Forester. *Twenty-two Illustrations.*

Paris and its Environs, including Versailles, St. Cloud, and Excursions into the Champagne Districts. An illustrated Handbook for Travellers. Edited by T. Forester. *Twenty-eight beautiful Engravings.*

Petrarch's Sonnets, and other Poems. Translated into English Verse. By various hands. With a Life of the Poet, by Thomas Campbell. *With* 16 *Engravings.*

Pickering's History of the Races of Man, with an Analytical Synopsis of the Natural History of Man. By Dr. Hall. *Illustrated by numerous Portraits.*

——— ; or, *with the plates coloured,* 7s. 6d.

*** An excellent Edition of a work originally published at 3l. 3s. by the American Government.

Pictorial Handbook of London. Comprising its Antiquities, Architecture, Arts, Manufactures, Trade, Institutions, Exhibitions, Suburbs, &c. *Two hundred and five Engravings, and a large Map, by Lowry.*

This volume contains above 900 pages, and is undoubtedly the cheapest five-shilling volume ever produced.

Pictorial Handbook of Modern Geography, on a Popular Plan. 3s. 6d. *Illustrated by* 150 *Engravings and* 51 *Maps.* 6s.

——— ; or, *with the maps coloured* 7s. 6d.

Pope's Poetical Works. Edited by Robert Carruthers. *Numerous Engravings.* 2 vols.

——— **Homer's Iliad.** With Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. *Illustrated by the entire Series of Flaxman's Designs, beautifully engraved by Moses (in the full* 8vo. *size).*

——— **Homer's Odyssey, Hymns,** &c., by other translators, including Chapman, and Introduction and Notes by J. S. Watson, M.A. *Flaxman's Designs beautifully engraved by Moses.*

Pope's Life. Including many of his Letters. By ROBERT CARRUTHERS. New Edition, revised and enlarged. *Illustrations.*

The preceding 5 *vols. make a complete and elegant edition of Pope's Poetical Works and Translations for* 25*s.*

Pottery and Porcelain, and other Objects of Vertu (a Guide to the Knowledge of). To which is added an Engraved List of all the known Marks and Monograms. By HENRY G. BOHN. *Numerous Engravings.*

———; or, *coloured.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Prout's (Father) Reliques. New Edition, revised and largely augmented. *Twenty-one spirited Etchings by Maclise.* Two volumes in one. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Recreations in Shooting. By "CRAVEN." New Edition, revised and enlarged. 62 *Engravings on Wood, after Harvey, and* 9 *Engravings on Steel, chiefly after A. Cooper, R.A.*

Redding's History and Descriptions of Wines, Ancient and Modern. *Twenty beautiful Woodcuts.*

Rennie's Insect Architecture. *New Edition.* Revised by the Rev. J. G. WOOD, M.A.

Robinson Crusoe. With Illustrations by STOTHARD and HARVEY. *Twelve beautiful Engravings on Steel, and* 74 *on Wood.*

———; or, without the Steel illustrations, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The prettiest Edition extant.

Rome in the Nineteenth Century. New Edition. Revised by the Author. *Illustrated by* 34 *fine Steel Engravings.* 2 vols.

Southey's Life of Nelson. With Additional Notes. *Illustrated with* 64 *Engravings.*

Starling's (Miss) Noble Deeds of Women; or, Examples of Female Courage, Fortitude, and Virtue. *Fourteen beautiful Illustrations.*

Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, and other Monuments of Greece. *Illustrated in* 71 *Steel Plates, and numerous Woodcuts.*

Tales of the Genii; or, the Delightful Lessons of Horam. *Numerous Woodcuts, and* 8 *Steel Engravings, after Stothard.*

Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered. Translated into English Spenserian Verse, with a Life of the Author. By J. H. WIFFEN. *Eight Engravings on Steel, and* 24 *on Wood, by Thurston.*

Walker's Manly Exercises. Containing Skating, Riding, Driving, Hunting, Shooting, Sailing, Rowing, Swimming, &c. New Edition, revised by "CRAVEN." *Forty-four Steel Plates, and numerous Woodcuts.*

Walton's Complete Angler. Edited by EDWARD JESSE, Esq. To which is added an Account of Fishing Stations, &c., by H. G. BOHN. *Upwards of* 203 *Engravings.*

———; or, *with* 26 *additional page Illustrations on Steel,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Wellington, Life of. By AN OLD SOLDIER, from the materials of Maxwell. *Eighteen Engravings.*

White's Natural History of Selborne. With Notes by Sir WILLIAM JARDINE and EDWARD JESSE, Esq. *Illustrated by* 40 *highly-finished Engravings.*

———; or, *with the plates coloured,* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Young, The, Lady's Book. A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Arts, Sciences, and Accomplishments; including Geology, Mineralogy, Conchology, Botany, Entomology, Ornithology, Costume, Embroidery, the Escritoire, Archery, Riding, Music (instrumental and vocal), Dancing, Exercises, Painting, Photography, &c., &c. Edited by distinguished Professors. *Twelve Hundred Woodcut Illustrations, and several fine Engravings on Steel.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

———; or, *cloth gilt, gilt edges,* 9*s.*

XI.

Bohn's Classical Library.

5s. per Volume, excepting those marked otherwise.

Æschylus. Literally Translated into English Prose by an Oxonian. 3*s.* 6*d.*

———, **Appendix to.** Containing the New Readings given in Hermann's posthumous Edition of Æschylus. By GEORGE BURGES, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Ammianus Marcellinus. History of Rome from Constantius to Valens. Translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A. Dble. vol., 7*s.* 6*d.*

Antoninus. The Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Translated by GEO. LONG, M.A. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Apuleius, the Golden Ass; Death of Socrates; Florida; and Discourse on Magic. To which is added a Metrical Version of Cupid and Psyche; and Mrs. Tighe's Psyche. *Frontispiece.*

Aristophanes' Comedies. Literally Translated, with Notes and Extracts from Frere's and other Metrical Versions, by W. J. HICKIE. 2 vols.

Vol. 1. Acharnians, Knights, Clouds, Wasps, Peace, and Birds.

Vol. 2. Lysistrata, Thesmophoriazusæ, Frogs, Ecclesiazusæ, and Plutus.

Aristotle's Ethics. Literally Translated by Archdeacon BROWNE, late Classical Professor of King's College.

——— **Politics and Economics.** Translated by E. WALFORD, M.A.

——— **Metaphysics.** Literally Translated, with Notes, Analysis, Examination Questions, and Index, by the Rev. JOHN H. M'MAHON, M.A., and Gold Medallist in Metaphysics, T.C.D.

——— **History of Animals.** In Ten Books. Translated, with Notes and Index, by RICHARD CRESSWELL, M.A.

——— **Organon; or, Logical Treatises.** With Notes, &c. By O. F. OWEN, M.A. 2 vols., 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— **Rhetoric and Poetics.** Literally Translated, with Examination Questions and Notes, by an Oxonian.

Athenæus. The Deipnosophists; or, the Banquet of the Learned. Translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A. 3 vols.

Cæsar. Complete, with the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. Literally Translated, with Notes.

Catullus, Tibullus, and the Vigil of Venus. A Literal Prose Translation. To which are added Metrical Versions by LAMB, GRAINGER, and others. *Frontispiece.*

Cicero's Orations. Literally Translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A. In 4 vols.

Vol. 1. Contains the Orations against Verres, &c. *Portrait.*

Vol. 2. Catiline, Archias, Agrarian Law, Rabirius, Murena, Sylla, &c.

Vol. 3. Orations for his House, Plancius, Sextius, Cœlius, Milo, Ligarius, &c.

Vol. 4. Miscellaneous Orations, and Rhetorical Works; with General Index to the four volumes.

——— **on the Nature of the Gods,** Divination, Fate, Laws, a Republic, &c. Translated by C. D. YONGE, B.A., and F. BARHAM.

——— **Academics, De Finibus, and** Tusculan Questions. By C. D. YONGE, B.A. With Sketch of the Greek Philosophy.

——— **Offices, Old Age, Friendship,** Scipio's Dream, Paradoxes, &c. Literally Translated, by R. EDMONDS. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Cicero on Oratory and Orators. By J. S. WATSON, M.A.

Demosthenes' Orations. Translated, with Notes, by C. RANN KENNEDY. In 5 volumes.

Vol. 1. The Olynthiac, Philippic, and other Public Orations. 3*s.* 6*d*

Vol. 2. On the Crown and on the Embassy.

Vol. 3. Against Leptines, Midias, Androtrion, and Aristocrates.

Vol. 4. Private and other Orations.

Vol. 5. Miscellaneous Orations.

Dictionary of Latin Quotations. Including Proverbs, Maxims, Mottoes, Law Terms, and Phrases; and a Collection of above 500 Greek Quotations. With all the quantities marked. & English Translations.

———, **with Index Verborum.** 6*s.* Index Verborum only. 1*s.*

Diogenes Laertius. Lives and Opinions of the Ancient Philosophers. Translated, with Notes, by C. D. YONGE.

Euripides. Literally Translated. 2 vols.

Vol. 1. Hecuba, Orestes, Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, Bacchæ, Heraclidæ, Iphigenia in Aulide, and Iphigenia in Tauris.

Vol. 2. Hercules Furens, Troades, Ion Andromache, Suppliants, Helen, Electra, Cyclops, Rhesus.

Greek Anthology. Literally Translated. With Metrical Versions by various Authors.

Greek Romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius.

Herodotus. A New and Literal Translation, by HENRY CARY, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford.

Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theognis. Literally Translated, with Notes, by J. BANKS, M.A.

Homer's Iliad. Literally Translated, by an OXONIAN.

——— **Odyssey, Hymns, &c.** Literally Translated, by an OXONIAN.

Horace. Literally Translated, by SMART. Carefully revised by an OXONIAN. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius. Literally Translated, with Notes and Index, by J. S. WATSON, M.A.

Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius. By L. EVANS, M.A. With the Metrical Version by Gifford. *Frontispiece.*

Livy. A new and Literal Translation. By Dr. SPILLAN and others. In 4 vols.

Vol. 1. Contains Books 1—8.

Vol. 2. Books 9—26.

Vol. 3. Books 27—36.

Vol. 4. Books 37 to the end; and Index.

Lucan's Pharsalia. Translated, with Notes, by H. T. Riley.

Lucretius. Literally Translated, with Notes, by the Rev. J. S. Watson, M.A. And the Metrical Version by J. M. Good.

Martial's Epigrams, complete. Literally Translated. Each accompanied by one or more Verse Translations selected from the Works of English Poets, and other sources. With a copious Index. Double volume (660 pages). *7s. 6d.*

Ovid's Works, complete. Literally Translated. 3 vols.
- Vol. 1. Fasti, Tristia, Epistles, &c.
- Vol. 2. Metamorphoses.
- Vol. 3. Heroides, Art of Love, &c.

Pindar. Literally Translated, by Dawson W. Turner, and the Metrical Version by Abraham Moore.

Plato's Works. Translated by the Rev. H. Cary and others. In 6 vols.
- Vol. 1. The Apology of Socrates, Crito, Phædo, Gorgias, Protagoras, Phædrus, Theætetus, Euthyphron, Lysis.
- Vol. 2. The Republic, Timæus, & Critias.
- Vol. 3. Meno, Euthydemus, The Sophist, Statesman, Cratylus, Parmenides, and the Banquet.
- Vol. 4. Philebus, Charmides, Laches, The Two Alcibiades, and Ten other Dialogues.
- Vol. 5. The Laws.
- Vol. 6. The Doubtful Works. With General Index.

——— Dialogues, an Analysis and Index to. With References to the Translation in Bohn's Classical Library. By Dr. Day. [*In preparation.*

Plautus's Comedies. Literally Translated, with Notes, by H. T. Riley, B.A. In 2 vols.

Pliny's Natural History. Translated, with Copious Notes, by the late John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S., and H. T. Riley, B.A. In 6 vols.

Propertius, Petronius, and Johannes Secundus. Literally Translated, and accompanied by Poetical Versions, from various sources.

Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory. Literally Translated, with Notes, &c., by J. S. Watson, M.A. In 2 vols.

Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus. With Copious Notes, Biographical Notices, and Index, by J. S. Watson.

Sophocles. The Oxford Translation revised.

Standard Library Atlas of Classical Geography. *Twenty-two large coloured Maps according to the latest authorities.* With a complete Index (accentuated), giving the latitude and longitude of every place named in the Maps. Imp. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Strabo's Geography. Translated, with Copious Notes, by W. Falconer, M.A., and H. C. Hamilton, Esq. With Index, giving the Ancient and Modern Names. In 3 vols.

Suetonius' Lives of the Twelve Cæsars, and other Works. Thomson's Translation, revised, with Notes, by T. Forester.

Tacitus. Literally Translated, with Notes. In 2 vols.
- Vol. 1. The Annals.
- Vol. 2. The History, Germania, Agricola, &c. With Index.

Terence and Phædrus. By H. T. Riley, B.A.

Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Tyrtæus. By J. Banks, M.A. With the Metrical Versions of Chapman.

Thucydides. Literally Translated by Rev. H. Dale. In 2 vols. **3s. 6d. each.**

Virgil. Literally Translated by Davidson. New Edition, carefully revised. *3s. 6d.*

Xenophon's Works. In 3 Vols.
- Vol. 1. The Anabasis and Memorabilia. Translated, with Notes, by J. S. Watson, M.A. And a Geographical Commentary, by W. F. Ainsworth, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., &c.
- Vol. 2. Cyropædia and Hellenics. By J. S. Watson, M.A., and the Rev. H. Dale.
- Vol. 3. The Minor Works. By J. S. Watson, M.A.

XII.

Bohn's Scientific Library.

5s. per Volume, excepting those marked otherwise.

Agassiz and Gould's Comparative Physiology. Enlarged by Dr. Wright. *Upwards of* 400 *Engravings.*

Bacon's Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning. Complete, with Notes, by J. Devey, M.A.

Blair's Chronological Tables, Revised and Enlarged. Comprehending the Chronology and History of the World, from the earliest times. By J. Willoughby Rosse. Double Volume. **10s.; or, half-bound, 10s. 6d.**

Index of Dates. Comprehending the principal Facts in the Chronology and History of the World, from the earliest to the present time, alphabetically arranged. By J. W. Rosse. Double volume, **10s.; or, half-bound, 10s. 6d.**

Bolley's Manual of Technical Analysis. A Guide for the Testing of Natural and Artificial Substances. By B. H. PAUL. 100 *Wood Engravings.*

BRIDGEWATER TREATISES.—

——— **Bell on the Hand.** Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments as evincing Design. *Seventh Edition Revised.*

——— **Kirby on the History, Habits,** and Instincts of Animals. Edited, with Notes, by T. RYMER JONES. *Numerous Engravings, many of which are additional.* In 2 vols.

——— **Kidd on the Adaptation of** External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— **Whewell's Astronomy and** General Physics, considered with reference to Natural Theology. 3*s.* 6*d.*

——— **Chalmers on the Adaptation** of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man. 5*s.*

——— **Prout's Treatise on Chemistry,** Meteorology, and Digestion. Edited by Dr. J. W. GRIFFITH.

——— **Buckland's Geology and** Mineralogy. 2 vols. 15*s.*

——— **Roget's Animal and Vegetable** Physiology. *Illustrated.* In 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

Carpenter's (Dr. W. B.) Zoology. A Systematic View of the Structure, Habits, Instincts, and Uses, of the principal Families of the Animal Kingdom, and of the chief forms of Fossil Remains. New edition, revised to the present time, under arrangement with the Author, by W. S. DALLAS, F.L.S. *Illustrated with many hundred fine Wood Engravings.* In 2 vols. 6*s.* each.

——— **Mechanical Philosophy, Astronomy,** and Horology. A Popular Exposition. 183 *Illustrations.*

——— **Vegetable Physiology and** Systematic Botany. A complete Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants. New Edition, revised, under arrangement with the Author, by E. LANKESTER, M.D., &c. *Several hundred Illustrations on Wood.* 6*s.*

——— **Animal Physiology.** New Edition, thoroughly revised, and in part re-written by the Author. *Upwards of* 300 *capital Illustrations.* 6*s.*

Chess Congress of 1862. A Collection of the Games played, and a Selection of the Problems sent in for the Competition. Edited by J. LÖWENTHAL, Manager. With an Account of the Proceedings, and a Memoir of the British Chess Association, by J. W. MEDLEY, Hon. Sec. 7*s.*

Chevreul on Colour. Containing the Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours, and their application to the Arts. Translated from the French by CHARLES MARTEL. Only complete Edition. *Several Plates.* Or, with an additional series of 16 Plates in Colours. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Clark's (Hugh) Introduction to Heraldry. *With nearly 1000 Illustrations.* 18*th Edition.* Revised and enlarged by J. R. PLANCHÉ, Rouge Croix. Or, with all the Illustrations coloured, 15*s.*

Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences. By G. H. LEWES.

Ennemoser's History of Magic. Translated by WILLIAM HOWITT. With an Appendix of the most remarkable and best authenticated Stories of Apparitions, Dreams, Table-Turning, and Spirit-Rapping, &c. In 2 vols.

Handbook of Domestic Medicine. Popularly arranged. By DR. HENRY DAVIES. 700 pages. With complete Index.

Handbook of Games. By various Amateurs and Professors. Comprising treatises on all the principal Games of chance, skill, and manual dexterity. In all, above 40 games (the Whist, Draughts, and Billiards being especially comprehensive). Edited by H. G. BOHN. *Illustrated by numerous Diagrams.*

Hogg's (Jabez) Elements of Experimental and Natural Philosophy. Containing Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Acoustics, Optics, Caloric, Electricity, Voltaism, and Magnetism. New Edition, enlarged. *Upwards of* 400 *Woodcuts.*

Hind's Introduction to Astronomy. With a Vocabulary, containing an Explanation of all the Terms in present use. New Edition, enlarged. *Numerous Engravings.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Humboldt's Cosmos; or Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. Translated by E. C. OTTÉ and W. S. DALLAS, F.L.S. *Fine Portrait.* In five vols. 3*s.* 6*d.* each; excepting Vol. V., 5*s.*

⁂ In this edition the notes are placed beneath the text, Humboldt's analytical Summaries and the passages hitherto suppressed are included, and new and comprehensive Indices are added.

——— **Travels in America.** In 3 vols.

——— **Views of Nature; or, Contemplations** of the Sublime Phenomena of Creation. Translated by E. C. OTTÉ and H. G. BOHN. A fac-simile letter from the Author to the Publisher; translations of the quotations, and a complete Index.

Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual. A popular Introduction to the Study of Coins. *Highly finished Engravings.* In 2 vols.

Hunt's (Robert) Poetry of Science; or, Studies of the Physical Phenomena of Nature. By Professor HUNT. New Edition, enlarged.

Index of Dates. *See* Blair's Tables.

Joyce's Scientific Dialogues. Completed to the present state of Knowledge, by Dr. GRIFFITH. *Numerous Woodcuts.*

Knight's (Chas.) Knowledge is Power. A Popular Manual of Political Economy.

Lectures on Painting. By the Royal Academicians. With Introductory Essay, and Notes by R. WORNUM, Esq. *Portraits.*

Mantell's (Dr.) Geological Excursions through the Isle of Wight and Dorsetshire. New Edition, by T. RUPERT JONES, Esq. *Numerous beautifully executed Woodcuts, and a Geological Map.*

——— **Medals of Creation;** or, First Lessons in Geology and the Study of Organic Remains; including Geological Excursions. New Edition, revised. *Coloured Plates, and several hundred beautiful Woodcuts.* In 2 vols., 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

——— **Petrifactions and their Teachings.** An Illustrated Handbook to the Organic Remains in the British Museum. *Numerous Engravings.* 6*s.*

——— **Wonders of Geology;** or, a Familiar Exposition of Geological Phenomena. New Edition, augmented by T. RUPERT JONES, F.G.S. *Coloured Geological Map of England, Plates, and nearly* 200 *beautiful Woodcuts.* In 2 vols., 7*s.* 6*d.* each.

Morphy's Games of Chess. Being the Matches and best Games played by the American Champion, with Explanatory and Analytical Notes, by J. LÖWENTHAL. *Portrait* and Memoir.

It contains by far the largest collection of games played by Mr. Morphy extant in any form, and has received his endorsement and co-operation.

Oersted's Soul in Nature, &c. *Portrait.*

Richardson's Geology, including Mineralogy and Palæontology. Revised and enlarged, by Dr. T. WRIGHT. *Upwards of* 400 *Illustrations.*

Schouw's Earth, Plants, and Man; and Kobell's Sketches from the Mineral Kingdom. Translated by A. HENFREY, F.R.S. *Coloured Map of the Geography of Plants.*

Smith's (Pye) Geology and Scripture; or, The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and Geological Science.

Stanley's Classified Synopsis of the Principal Painters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools.

Staunton's Chess-player's Handbook. *Numerous Diagrams.*

——— **Chess Praxis.** A Supplement to the Chess-player's Handbook. Containing all the most important modern improvements in the Openings, illustrated by actual Games; a revised Code of Chess Laws; and a Selection of Mr. Morphy's Games in England and France. 6*s.*

——— **Chess-player's Companion.** Comprising a new Treatise on Odds, Collection of Match Games, and a Selection of Original Problems.

——— **Chess Tournament of 1851.** *Numerous Illustrations.*

Principles of Chemistry, exemplified in a series of simple experiments. Based upon the German work of Professor STOCKHARDT, and Edited by C. W. HEATON, Professor of Chemistry at Charing Cross Hospital. *Upwards of* 270 *Illustrations.*

Stockhardt's Agricultural Chemistry; or, Chemical Field Lectures. Addressed to Farmers. Translated, with Notes, by Professor HENFREY, F.R.S. To which is added, a Paper on Liquid Manure, by J. J. MECHI, Esq.

Ure's (Dr. A.) Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain, systematically investigated; with an introductory view of its comparative state in Foreign Countries. New Edition, revised and completed to the present time, by P. L. SIMMONDS. *One hundred and fifty Illustrations.* In 2 vols.

——— **Philosophy of Manufactures;** or, An Exposition of the Factory System of Great Britain. New Ed., continued to the present time, by P. L. SIMMONDS. 7*s.* 6*d.*

XIII.

Bohn's Cheap Series.

Boswell's Life of Johnson, and Johnsoniana. Including his Tour to the Hebrides, Tour in Wales, &c. Edited, with large additions and Notes, by the Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER. The second and most complete Copyright Edition, re-arranged and revised according to the suggestions of Lord Macaulay, by the late JOHN WRIGHT, Esq., with further additions by Mr. CROKER. *Upwards of* 50 *fine Engravings on Steel.* In 5 vols. cloth, 20*s.*

Cape and the Kaffirs. By H. WARD. 2*s.*

cm 29/5/87

HCh
C5393

15847.

descriptive and historical.

NAME OF BORROWER.

E. welaren)

d Smith 2242 May 16

ET

Y